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THE

ROMAN STATE,

FROM 1815 TO 1850.

BY LUIGI CARLO FARINI.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE,

M. P. FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOLUME I.

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Dedication.

TO

COUNT CESARE BALBO.

THREE years have now elapsed, my noble Friend, since you conferred on me the honour of inscribing to me some letters on political subjects, which abounded in weighty lessons. I reckon it a fresh distinction, that I am now inscribing to you these pages; in which, as it seems to me, witness is borne, under the seal of experience, to the soundness of those lessons.

It having fallen to my lot to break off my ordinary studies and employments, in order to take part in public affairs, I afterwards bethought me of applying to the purposes of History, the leisure forced upon me by more than one overbearing stretch of power, opposite in origin and form. Accordingly, I set myself

to relating the vicissitudes of the Roman State; bearing my own testimony wherever I could offer it with certainty, and corroborating my assertions by irrefragable documents, as often as there seemed to be occasion. And inasmuch as I am of opinion, that the function of History is rather to warn and to correct, than to eulogise and give delight, and that this Italy of ours stands at present in more need of such warning and correction, than of petting and panegyrics, I have, in the course of my judgments upon events, had less respect to persons, than to truth: I have set down virtuous acts to the credit, and misdeeds to the blame, of men, and not of that mysterious and fateful power, which is celebrated by some writers under the title of Necessity.

Hence it may probably happen, that as heretofore our cities, reeking with self-conceit, took umbrage at your wise counsels, even so they will now hear not without displeasure my unreserved language. For any one, who is resolved to be popular, must perpetually shape his bearing and his expressions after the manner of a courtier; and so much the more, as the age grows more inflated, and as our cities are themselves transformed into courts, where men bid

for that popular favour, which costs even more than the favour of Kings in flattery and adulation. Should this happen, I shall be grieved; not, assuredly, on my own behalf, wont as I am to do homage to justice in the teeth of the times and men, but, I own it, for my country's sake: since she never can raise herself from the ground, and attain to the condition of a free Nation, until she shall have given over her dallying with those doctrines, which generate fatal revolutions alternately with no less fatal restorations, and perpetuate political shame and servitude.

But, whatever may be the lot in reserve for these volumes, I shall be gratified, provided you, my noble Friend, shall judge them not unworthy of being commended to your auspices, and shall accept this dedication as a token of my warm regard and friendship.

LUIGI CARLO FARINI.

Turin May 15 1850

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

A GREAT problem, of deep and lasting interest to the whole of Europe and of Christendom, has for some time been in process of solution in the Roman, or Papal, States.

This process has been, during the reign of the present Pope, greatly, and beyond all expectation, accelerated: and it may now be said to be virtually complete, although the interposition of material force obstructs for the present its manifestation to the world.

Its three principal stages, since the Peace of 1815, have been as follows.

First, until the death of Gregory XVI., the question was, whether the temporal power of the Popes could be perpetuated upon the basis of its old and very defective traditional system, further deteriorated by some of the worst characteristics of that system of Government, which owes its paternity to the first French Revolution.

From the accession of Pius IX., in June, 1846, a second era commenced; and the question now became this: whether it was possible to remove the crying oppressions and abuses of the old system, and to establish constitutional freedom, retaining, at the same time, any effective Sovereignty in the Papal Chair.

This period is indeed divisible into two: for there is no evidence to show, that Pius IX. desired or intended, of his own free will, to establish anything like what we understand by Constitutional freedom. Still, he bent his neck to the

necessity, which the French Revolution of 1848 brought upon him: and, for the present purpose, it is enough to mark November, 1848, as the term of the second stage of the process under view.

The third stage is, from the entry of the French, and the restoration of the Papal Government, in the summer of 1849, down to the present time. Though it is not yet formally at an end, it may be considered morally complete. During this period, a third form of the question has been put. It has been this: whether the temporal power of the Popedom had life enough in itself to reconstruct and improve its external forms, and during the interval of forced, but entire, repose afforded by the presence of the overwhelming military power of three, or four, nations — the smallest of them outnumbering, three times over, the population of the Roman States — to strike such roots into the soil, as might again give it a substantive existence, might enable it to endure the removal of those screens which cover it from East, West, North, and South, and might embolden it to expose itself once more to the free current of the air of Heaven?

Every one of these three questions has, I believe, received an answer from the facts of the time; an answer, in substance, already complete and final. To those facts it is my object to draw a more adequate degree of attention in England, by the publication of this Translation.

The two volumes, which now issue from the press, bring us down to November, 1848: and the continuation of the work, in a third, which is speedily to appear, will, I hope, make the picture complete.

The materials here presented for forming a judgment upon the recent history of Rome and the Popedom, are handled by Signor Farini with great ability and sagacity. But the most prominent characteristic of the work, as it appears to me, is its dispassionate and judicial calmness in reference to Roman

affairs. The conclusions, to which the narrative leads, are, indeed, nowhere formally stated by him: but the evidence is presented to us, upon which we may conclude for ourselves.

In a notice prefixed to the second, or Florentine, edition of this work, the Editor well remarks, that the subject-matter will account for the great interest which it has excited, but not for the authority which it has acquired. This authority he reasonably assigns to the frankness, fairness, and circumspection, of the Author's judgments upon political events and interests.

The work may, perhaps, be chargeable with a certain tendency to tumidity of style; which I have endeavoured slightly to qualify in the translation.

Having stated the purpose, for which I have sought to bring this history before the English public, namely, the illustration of Roman affairs, I have to add, in explicit terms, that this has been my sole purpose. I therefore pass by without comment the opinions and statements of Farini respecting the events of other Italian States besides the Papal, the policy of England and other European Powers, with his incidental notices of persons, and the relation of Austria both to Lombardy and to Italian freedom. On the latter subject, I will make the single remark, that the purely abstract idea of Italian nationality makes little impression, and finds limited sympathy among ourselves. Nothing can be more marked, than the contrast between the warm sentiment of Englishmen towards the free institutions of Piedmont, and the doubtful or averse mood with which they regarded the aggression (as they very generally deemed it,) of Charles Albert on the Austrian possessions. In order to raise a favourable feeling in this country, the Italian writers should busy themselves to show, not merely that the Austrian dominion is at variance with the unity and nationality of Italy, but that Austria is really open to the charge, which they, Farini among the rest,

make against her, of giving countenance to abuses, winking at tyranny, discouraging improvement, and obstructing the tendencies towards constitutional freedom, in the other States of Italy; in virtue of a pretended Protectorate, to which she has no claim.

Luigi Carlo Farini, the Author of this work, is a subject of the Pope. He was born at Russi, in the province of Ravenna, in 1812, was bred to the medical profession, was twice in exile under Gregory XVI., and returned to his country under the Amnesty of July, 1846. In March, 1848, he became Under-Secretary of State for the Interior, or Home Department, sat in the Council of Deputies, and retired from political office when Mamiani was Minister. In October, he was appointed Director of the Board of Health, but was ejected by the Triumvirs of the Republic. He resumed his post on the entry of the French, but was again dismissed by the Triumvirate of Cardinals. To this double ejectment he alludes in his Dedication. He has taken refuge in Turin, and holds an appointment there. More will be learned of him in these pages.

I would not willingly allow this translation to go forth, without expressing my marked obligations to my friend Mr. Panizzi for his aid, with respect to more points than I could easily number, in preparing and revising it.

6. *Carlton Gardens,*
June 3. 1851.

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HISTORY

OF

THE ROMAN STATE,

FROM 1815 TO 1850.

HISTORY

OF

THE ROMAN STATE,

FROM 1815 TO 1850.

BOOK I.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY FROM THE YEAR 1815 TO JUNE 1846.

CHAPTER I.

THE RESTORATIONS IN EUROPE. — PROTEST OF CARDINAL CONSALVI. — RETURN OF PIUS VII. — THE CLERICAL PARTY. — CONSALVI SECRETARY OF STATE. — CONDITION OF LITERATURE. — ENTERPRISE OF MURAT IN 1815. — THE CARBONARI. — THE SANFEDISTS. — THE POLITICAL SENTENCES OF 1817. — THE POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS OF ROMAGNA. — THE EVENTS OF 1821. — SUBSEQUENT POLITICAL SENTENCES. — DEATH OF PIUS VII. IN AUGUST, 1823.

THE Potentates of Europe, bound together in an alliance against Napoleon, which they afterwards denominated Holy, and shattered an hundred times by that thunderbolt of war, determined to awaken and stir up the spirit of nationality and of freedom in their subjects; a powerful instrument for upheaving thrones, and for worsting empires. And they gained their point; but no sooner had they done it, than they

turned their mind and arms against those subjects themselves. They had in the very front of their ideas, that notion of a balance of power in Europe, which, first entertained in the mind of Henry IV., developed by Cardinal Richelieu, and recognised by the treaty of Westphalia, had been acted upon until the period of the French Revolution. Hence it happened that, far from constructing on the basis of nationality in the respective countries a genuine and natural equilibrium, they restored the old, the artificial, the forced, and the parasitical; they settled that the people were a property, and nations a patrimony to distribute and to bargain with, according to the inclination, and for the convenience, of the great. The restorers of 1815 were guilty of injustice to the nations; and their work was inauspicious, as has been proved to a marvel by the terrible events of 1848, without its being needful to go farther, and to establish the demonstration by argument. They thought that they were giving enough to freedom, when they favoured certain German provinces with institutions that bore a semblance of it, and when they established in France a representative constitution. But they were mistaken in that very quarter. France free, — France, discontented and impetuous by nature, — France, amalgamated by manners, by traffic, by language, with all the nations of Western Europe, proved an effectual stimulus to liberty, withheld and repressed elsewhere. Thus it was, thus it will ever be; and so much the more, with the actual and future growth of those marvellous contrivances which, applied to the

service of man, gain the mastery, I might almost say, over space and time; and by means of which, modern nations are reducing themselves to an uniformity of thought and will.

Since, then, a free condition was denied to subjects, and independent existence to nations, it is no wonder that Italy should have been brought into a state of thraldom; Italy, ever the object of envy to the stranger in her days of hope, his merchandize and spoil at her periods of misfortune. In the twenty years of the French Revolution and the wars attending it, this our wretched land was trampled by aliens of every race, until at last it both had lost the ancient liberties of some of its noblest provinces, and saw dragged under the yoke of Austria, besides Lombardy, the whole Venetian territory, with some places and fortresses of the Papal States.

This was then our gain, at the settlement of accounts when the wars of the French Revolution ended. At the Congress of Vienna, royal and constitutional France was not more generous, than republican France had formerly been at Campo Formio. She did not resist the extension of the Austrian sway: on the contrary, being desirous to gain the favour of that state against Russia on behalf of Saxony, she was tender of her wishes, and compensated her complaisance elsewhere at the expense of Italy. This, I say, we gained: and, with this, the aversion of our native Princes to civil and political reforms; which they had commenced, both prudently and boldly, before France threw the world into con-

fusion. I notice it to admonish those who call themselves lovers of liberty and independence, and who being Italians, and in Italy, yet are still given to fondling French revolutions and French wars.

When the Austrian sway had thus been strengthened and extended, our own Princes came, as matter of course, into the position of those ancient Lords, to whom the Emperors used to give investiture. There did not remain a vestige of Italian policy in Italy, not even of that policy, turbulent I admit and isolating, but profound and vigorous, through which every one of our municipalities had grown great, and had given to the world men not only remarkable, but unique.

The commonalties were in servitude, the states were fiefs, the sovereigns were Austrian prefects; if at that period there was any token of a spirit of independence, it appeared to proceed from the Court of Rome, which made complaints of the abstraction of its territory beyond the Po, and of the occupation of its fortresses at Ferrara and Comacchio. It is the peculiar nature of the Roman Court, that it can acquiesce upon occasion, but never bends in mind before either violence or adverse fortune, and never forgets her claims through length of time. When dispossessed by Napoleon, she exhibited herself in such an attitude of dignity and courage, that she had the aspect of victory rather than of defeat; and then, restored to power by Napoleon's conquerors, she angrily protested, where the restitution was not entire, as if she had been a mistress dealing with her servants. Was this a relic of the Guelphish spirit?

A bastard modernism had perhaps tainted it, but the tradition subsisted still, and tradition is, in Rome, almost as powerful and effective in the temporal, as in the spiritual sphere. Cardinal Consalvi, who was a sagacious person, made complaints and protestations at Vienna; but the people of the Roman States, and particularly those of the northern provinces, which had advanced the farthest in modern ideas, cared little, perhaps were pleased, that the ecclesiastics should suffer disgrace and detriment.

The venerable Pius VII. had brought back from exile an ample stock of personal influence; and the Court of Rome enjoyed a rare and marvellous occasion to turn it to account, and establish a good and popular government. In the people there was great acuteness of mind; a nature somewhat rude, I grant, yet generous; a longing for repose, favourable to study, to trade, and to commerce; a love of civil equality; and an anxiety, enhanced by military rule, for honourable freedom. There was, in the Prince, the Majesty, of all on earth most exaltedand revered; a sanctity of mind, corresponding with that of his name and of his office; and the crown of a martyr, more bright than that of mere glory. Experience ought to have enlightened the minds, misfortune to have purified the hearts, of the conquerors. God continually sends factions to these schools of experience and of misfortune, but they will not learn. Men are so constituted, that, when they have fallen down a precipice, they nurse resentment against him who did but give the last thrust; and if they mount

again, they are content to hurl him to the bottom, and then themselves take their stand upon the brink. Every one says, that revolutions are a scourge of God; but every one has the sottish pride to conceive, that he is scourged for the faults of others, not for his own. On the restoration of the Pope, the clerical party came back to power with the ideas it had when it fell, and with passions not tempered, but inflamed, by calamity. Consalvi was at a distance; in spite of the Pope, the most hot-headed and fanatical persons prevailed at court; and these persons, who counted the very moments until they could get full power to reverse all that had been effected, did and said the strangest and maddest things in the world. Such a man, for example, as Rivarola, a hot competitor for the palm in mediæval modes of procedure, went as Commissary to the provinces, disturbed every thing, abused and marred every thing, and loaded with opprobrium even the office of the Registry of Mortgages.

When Consalvi had returned to Rome, he endeavoured, in the discharge of his duty as Secretary of State, to stem that current, but with incomplete success; in fact, they neither gave any uniformity of frame to the entire state, nor did they simply reinstate the ancient order of things, nor did they so adjust what they newly introduced, as to make it harmonise with the peculiar circumstances of the States of the Church, or with the fresh wants and altered conditions of society. They ought to have acted with forethought, both in cancelling the old and introducing the new, instead of which they put

new upon old, without cement, and without dovetailing; and whether of new or of old, they maintained or restored rather the bad than the good; or at any rate, rather what was hateful, than what was agreeable, to the people. There were unbounded promises of civil and criminal codes, but there came of them only some proclamations of Cardinals and Papal bulls, with a few new and yet jarring laws. There were taxes and duties in the French fashion, general administration in the Roman; no rules for a military conscription, troops picked up at random on the highways; while commerce and industry were discouraged by that legal meddling, which some economists call protection and favour. Instruction was impoverished, the censorship peddling; all the men, who had been distinguished in the time of Napoleon, were suspected and in discsteem. In the other Italian States, likewise, obstacles were encountered, and false steps of a retrograde character were made; but in the lay principalities there was no such palpable necessity for extensive changes, as in the ecclesiastical. In the first, the administrative and civil institutions had already been in part reformed before the French Revolution; in Lombardy, at Naples, and in Tuscany, the excess of encroachment by the Church upon the State had at that period been retrenched; nor did the sovereigns, when restored, think of destroying all that which they themselves or their fathers had effected. At Rome, on the contrary, although Consalvi tried to check it, the retrograde movement tended towards those methods of

administration, of legislation, and of policy, which reflected the likeness of the middle ages; a matter which was the cause of serious discontent, especially in those provinces that for many years had formed part of the kingdom of Italy. In the lay States the public functionaries were changed, and perhaps, too, according to the custom of revolutions and of restorations, without any restraint of justice or kindness; but in the Pontifical State the havoc was much greater, inasmuch as the ecclesiastics returned to the exercise of those civil offices, which in former times, when society was in infancy, they had filled not without distinction to themselves and advantage to the public, but which now they resumed by mere privilege of caste. It is manifest how much evil this must have caused to the laity, how much jealousy towards the clergy. Add that the philosophical doctrines, which take their name from the Encyclopedists, had penetrated among us during the sway of the French, so that the authority of Rome had greatly declined among the educated classes; moreover, the meretricious tongue of the conquerors had deformed our own; men both thought and wrote in the French manner. Some choice spirits, indeed, then anxiously bestirred themselves to bring back our divine language to its own laws: of these a portion were illustrious men, whose name has passed beyond the confines of the country, such as Monti, Costa, Leopardi; others have attained to celebrity and honour within their own native districts, and have nurtured our youth with useful instruction, such as

Perticari, Strocchi, and Pellegrino Farini. This age, that reeks with vanity, and is in danger of growing barbarous amidst its vaunts of civilisation, forgets those cultivated benefactors. Let literature, at any rate, rescue literature from thankless oblivion! These were the men who made, perhaps unconsciously, the first step upon the way towards the revival of Italy, since the independence of the language is the first element of nationality.

The Archduke John, in the year 1809, had promised independence to the Italians. Nugent, in 1815, had excited them to rise in the name of their country's freedom. Bentinck in 1814 had cried, "Shall Italy alone remain beneath the yoke? Warriors of Italy! you are not asked to join with us, but you are asked to defend your own rights, and your own liberties. Call us, and we will fly to your aid! then our united forces will render Italy what she was at her most brilliant epochs, and what Spain now is." Certain statesmen think it a refined device to raise the cry of liberty, in order to lay a new yoke on the neck of a people weary of their old one; a wicked fraud, which the justice of God visits soon or late upon its inventors. Nugent and Bentinck had indeed snared their game; but the sect of the Carbonari was already on foot in the kingdom of Naples, and had penetrated into the Roman State; it now turned to its own profit those exhortations to Italian freedom, and when the courageous Murat, raising its ensign in the spring of 1815, had assaulted Austria, the Carbonari threw themselves into that enterprise. In point of

fact, those in the Pontifical State had given it no effectual aid, since scarcely a thousand—men of letters and students for the most part—accompanied the Neapolitan legions to the Po; yet their acts and demonstrations had been of the nature, that is usual with political sects when impunity emboldens them. After the fall of Murat, the Italian sovereigns did not lay up the flag of independence to keep it for a fitting period; but the sect of Liberals both put it by, and watched over it.

In those first moments of its restoration, the Court of Rome would have had an opportunity to assume the leadership of Italy, and to revive Guelphism with fresh spirit; but she did not appreciate her own destinies, those of the Popedom, and of the nation; she faltered, fearful of the Ghibelline power, fearful of the liberal opinions; she did not, indeed, use great severity against those that had sided with the enterprise of Murat, but she allowed Austria to prosecute the poets and men of letters that had innocently favoured it. Stefanini, an Austrian Commissary, hunted for them through the Papal provinces; some of them underwent great hardships, and it was then that Pellegrino Rossi, the ornament of the forum and university of Bologna, saved himself by going into exile. The Pope formally condemned, and smote with an anathema, the sect of the Carbonari, which was spreading in the States of the Church, and the Court of Rome allowed the formation of the hostile sect of the Sanfedists.

There had existed anciently a politico-religious

association called the *Pacifici*, or the *Santa Unione*, which took for its motto the text of the Gospel, "*Beati pacifici quia filii Dei vocabuntur*," and was sworn to maintain the public peace at the risk of life. Perhaps in its origin Sanfedism was the development and amplification of a scheme of this kind: its professed object was, to defend the Catholic religion and the privileges and jurisdictions of the Court of Rome, with the temporal dominion and the prerogatives of the Papacy, as well from the plots of innovators as from the aggressions of the Empire. This ideal Sanfedism was essentially cosmopolite, with a capacity of reaching, under different forms, all the points to which the hierarchical offshoots of the Church so marvellously spread. It was retrogressive, aiming at an absolute theocracy. It was, or seemed to be, national, by opposing the influence of the Empire. Those who held high office in the Church or in the State,—those who were in esteem for property, for high birth, or for wisdom,—those who were conspicuous for well ordered life and firm belief, should have been the natural governors and moderators of the society; but since all human designs deteriorate as they go into operation, so it easily happened that rank and dignity were held sufficient without merit and learning, fortune without the habit of employing it properly, nobility of origin without nobility of mind; and that hypocrisy assumed the garb of religion, covetousness of loyalty. Hence there were many knaves, many impostors, and many scoundrels, who made use of the influence of the

society for their personal advantage. Time brought about modifications, and Sanfedism grew worse while it grew older, as will presently be seen. In the mean time it is well to fix the mind on this association, which held absolute and extreme principles together with retrograde political aims, and to place it in comparison with the sect of the Carbonari; we may then well conceive how many feuds, and what standing conflict, must needs have been the result.

Those governments which establish Sects on their own behalf, or accept their aid, assume the position of such private persons as, being founders or heads of parties in opposition, are led by them instead of leading them, and are obliged, with good grace or bad, to act according to their fancy. No idea is more opposed to the idea of a Government, than that of Sects like these. To govern means and implies restraining the social body for the general advantage, according to the eternal principles of justice and of reason; but to form a sect, means and implies imposing upon the greater number the opinions, the will, and the passions of the few,—that is to say, an error in reason, frequent extravagance, and invariable misgovernment. Sects formed in aid of the ruling powers have, besides, this greater vice, that, dragging the government into injustice, they attack the moral principle of authority, and render it so hateful that men do not consider it at all as a needful guardian and arbitress, but as an enemy, to be watched with keenness, and to be warred against with obstinacy. Finally, Sects of the nature of Sanfedism, which wear

an appearance of sanctity, produce this pestilent effect, that, abusing from time to time the name of religion for temporal ends and advantages, they both impiously profane it, and render its ministers, who involve themselves in like practices, odious and contemptible. It is but too true, that Sects in opposition are indispensable, more than elsewhere, in Lower Italy, where conspiracy must remain a second nature, as long as governments discountenance publicity and parliaments, which are its only genuine remedies; too true, that such Sects work ill in our times, and can never work really well: but Sects in aid of the executive power are always and everywhere unnatural and anti-rational; they lead governments into a course of excess, and so to destruction.

The Sanfedists could not brook that the Carbonari should be allowed to live unmolested and unpunished; and in 1817 they gained this point, that the Government began to condemn them to heavy punishments, the cause or pretext being a conspiracy of which Macerata was said to be the centre and the seat. Some were sentenced to death, but the penalty was commuted for that of perpetual imprisonment; a favour, which awakened no gratitude, because the trials had been in secret, and the sentence had appeared vindictive. Then ensued the revolutions of 1820 and 1821, in Spain, at Naples, and at Piedmont. The Carbonari of the Pontifical States became intoxicated with hope, united together in plots, and grew audacious; but whether it was that they wanted numbers or courage, they did not second the move-

ments of Upper or of Lower Italy, and made no attempt at change. As long as the danger endured, Rome had the good sense not to provoke the revolution, by inopportune rigours, and Consalvi gave directions that the government should be mildly administered, especially in those northern provinces, where there was most ground to fear that a conflagration might burst forth. But the Sanfedists did not comport themselves with the same prudence; rather, they evinced so much the more aversion to change, and hatred to its promoters, as the times grew more unquiet and boisterous; and so vehement was in these men the rage of party, that some priests vented it even from the pulpit, and assassins were seen going the round of the towns, to intimidate those citizens who were reputed liberal. On the other hand, the Sect of the Carbonari, in extending itself, was not only swollen with resolute and ready-handed persons, who could in case of need take to arms; but it had recruited men who were so profligate, that, amidst those revolutionary heats, they insidiously dipped their hands in the blood of the Sanfedists. Thus the civil feuds were aggravated, and the seeds of lasting hatred and resentment sown.

After it had been decided at Troppau and at Laybach to have an Austrian intervention in the kingdom of Naples, and in every Italian province in which the flame of liberty might break out, and after the entry of the Imperial troops into the States of the Church, the Sanfedists received them with great festivities, and were so inconsiderate, both in words and acts,

that every patriotic spirit was warm with indignation. In this manner, the retrograde and bigoted Sect acquired for itself a hateful name and character, not only as an association hostile to social progress and to free institutions, but moreover as a faction both friendly and helpful to the stranger. Its temper was not only extreme, but likewise opposed in this last particular to that of the Government, inasmuch as Consalvi feared the progressive increase of the Imperial influence, and could ill endure any foreign intervention. To this I can bear positive witness, having had under my view many of his private and confidential letters, in which he openly declared his mind; and in one among the rest, addressed to the Cardinal Sanseverino, a Neapolitan subject, of the King's party, who had been congratulating himself on the Austrian intervention, he wrote in reply, "that the remedy was perhaps worse than the disease." Afterwards, when the affairs of Naples and Piedmont had gone wrong, and when Austria had assumed the position of patron and champion of all the absolute sovereignties in Italy, not only did she aim at cowing and scourging the spirit of liberty and independence in the provinces subject to her sway, but she got into her own hands the whole matter of political inquisitions throughout Italy, and incited the Italian governments to severity, the anti-liberal Sects to vengeance. The Pontifical Government was in a condition to proceed with leniency, and yet not to be exposed to any charge of weakness, because its subjects, placed between the insurrections of Upper and Lower Italy, had not committed any act of

rebellion; and if it had been content with searching out and punishing, as was just, only the crimes which had been committed from party spirit, it would have gained for itself a high character in contrast with the governments of Naples and Modena, and others whose conduct was not only severe but savage. But whether because bullied by Austria, or driven by Sanfedism, the Court of Rome too allowed itself to enter upon a system of political inquisitions and condemnations. Cardinal Spina, Legate of Bologna, a judicious and moderate person, and the humane Cardinal Arezzo, Legate of Ferrara, shielded those two provinces from any serious inflictions. But after the death of the good Malvasia, Legate of Ravenna, his place was taken by Cardinal Rusconi, Bishop of Imola, a person both incapable and superstitious. Cardinal Sanseverino, a man of a southern temperament and prone to excess, governed the province of Forlì. In these last provinces, there ensued numerous arrests and more numerous banishments.

Furthermore, there were arrested and given over to Austria some inhabitants of Romagna, accused of complicity with Gonfalonieri, and the other distinguished Lombards who were afterwards condemned to the martyrdom of the Spielberg. Most fatal errors! from whence it followed, that the Liberals confounded in their hatred the foreign oppressor, and the feeble ecclesiastical government, which appeared to be his tool.

Many exiles from the Pontifical States found a near refuge in Tuscany, where the Grand-duke Fer-

dinand generously gave them shelter, and was so wise and moderate in his administration, that it stood in glaring contrast with that of Romagna. The exiles, in their dispersion, related their recent calamities, detailed the unjust and base proceedings of the Pontifical government, perhaps colouring them with spite. There was no care for the cultivation of the people, no anxiety for public prosperity; Rome was a cesspool of corruption, of exemptions, and of privileges; a clergy, made up of fools and knaves, in power, the laity slaves; the treasury plundered by gangs of tax farmers and spies; all the business of government consisted in prying into and punishing the notions, the expectations, and the imprudences of the Liberals. A great blunder this in governments, to send abroad a multitude of exiles, who, travelling from land to land, make a display of their misery and excite the sympathy of the nations, expose to view the sores of a state, give it a bad name in other countries, and likewise, by the ties of family and of sect, keep alive within it perpetual hates and hopes. When the devout pontiff Pius VII. gave up his soul to God on the 20th of August, 1823, the spirit of party was corroding the bonds of society, especially in the four Legations, and the Pontifical government had little either of love at home, or of respect abroad.

CHAP. II.

ELECTION OF LEO XII. (CARDINAL DELLA GENGA), SEPTEMBER 28. 1823. — HIS OPINIONS. — REFORMS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEM. — THE BRIGANDS OF THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA. — THE CARBONARI OF ROMAGNA. — CARDINAL RIVAROLA, LEGATE A LATERE. — HIS PROCEEDINGS: HIS LIFE ATTEMPTED. — THE COMMISSION OF INVERNIZZI. — THE JUBILEE. — POLITICAL SENTENCES. — MANY SECTARIANS RECANT. — THE ESTATES OF THE BEAUHARNAIS APPANAGE. — CARDINAL BERNETTI SECRETARY OF STATE. — HIS ADMINISTRATION. — DEATH OF LEO XII. AT THE BEGINNING OF 1829.

On the 28th of September, 1823, the Cardinal Annibale della Genga was elected Pope, who took the name of Leo XII., perhaps from grateful recollection of Pope Leo XI. (Ottaviano de' Medici), to whom the Della Genga family owed their fortune and nobility. Pius VI. had honoured him with the prelature, and made him his private secretary; then consecrated him Bishop of Tyre, and sent him as nuncio to Lucerne and to Cologne. Pius VII. dispatched him in 1805 to the Diet of Ratisbon, to receive the complaints of the Church of Germany against the Protestant sovereigns, and in 1808 to Paris, for the business depending between the Holy See and the Emperor Napoleon. After the removal of Pius VII., Monsignor della Genga betook himself to the parish of Monticelli, in the diocese of Fabriano, and there remained until 1814, in which year he evinced a most fervid aversion to the modern opinions and the recent civilizing institutions, and

belonged to that fiery party, which exerted itself to destroy every thing recent and restore every thing old; a party opposed to Consalvi, and to the political adjustments which were to his taste. When he had come to Paris to present to Louis XVIII. the congratulatory letters of the Pope, Cardinal Consalvi, who was there, received him stiffly, did not allow him to mix in business, and unceremoniously sent him back, at which he was so indignant and angry that he fell ill. Pius VII. named him Cardinal in March, 1816. At the time of entering the conclave he was in the sixty-fourth year of his life, and so infirm, that when his friends gave him to understand that they were desirous to raise him to the Popedom, he replied, "Don't think of me, for you would elect a corpse," and made them mark his puffy limbs, and his lean and pallid countenance. But, on the 23d of September, Cardinal Severoli was vetoed by Albani in the name of Austria, just when the promoters of his election were about to win; and hereupon, those cardinals who disliked Consalvi and envied his merits, combined together, drew over the doubtful, and succeeded in bringing about the choice of Della Genga, who immediately deprived Consalvi of place and power, and in his room appointed Della Somaglia Secretary of State, — a man who was much advanced in years, and had little or rather no experience in the affairs of this world.

The new Pope applied his daring spirit and his thoughts to every department of the civil government; and a life of excitement and labour so revived

his strength, that he was able to leave his palace to visit hospitals, gaols, and monasteries, and almost multiplied himself that he might suffice for all his duties. Being resolved to change the policy of the state, and bring it back, as far as possible, to the ancient rules and customs, which he thought admirable, he set about carrying these plans into effect with a persevering anxiety. Owing to him, the authority of the Congregations of Cardinals was restored, and many ancient practices and methods of the Roman Court were re-established. He gave countenance and protection to every kind of religious congregation and pious confraternity; by the Bull *Quod divina sapientia* he appointed that education should be brought entirely under the ecclesiastical hierarchy; he determined to have all institutions of charity and beneficence administered and governed by the clergy; he confirmed and enlarged the clerical exemptions, privileges, and jurisdictions. He took away from the Jews the right to hold real property, binding them to sell what they possessed within a fixed period; he recalled into vigour, to their detriment, many offensive practices and barbarous customs of the middle age; he caused them to be shut up in *Ghetti* with walls and gates; and he put them in charge of the Holy Office. The result was, that many wealthy and honourable merchants emigrated to Lombardy, to Venice, to Trieste, and to Tuscany. He dissolved the board which superintended vaccination, and quashed its rules; he gave unlimited power to appoint *majorats* and entails; he abolished the collegiate

courts which administered justice, and instead of them instituted pretorships, or courts of a single judge; he reduced the municipalities to dependence on the government, changed the denominations of magisterial offices, made stringent game and fishery laws, enjoined the use, or to speak more truly, the torture, of the Latin language, in forensic speaking and writing, and in the universities.

The province of Marittima and Campagna was infested by numerous and savage bands of assassins and plunderers, and Leo sought to use all means to bring it to a state of peace and security. He sent thither, with the powers of Legate *a latere*, which convey sovereign authority, the notorious Cardinal Pallotta; but recalled him to Rome, after he had committed strange excesses, and given an unrivalled model of mad government. He then appointed Monsignor Benvenuti to the charge, who effected the Pope's plan more by means of agreements, and of pensions for life granted to the villains, than by force. The banishments and sentences of the preceding reign had failed to tame or to destroy Carbonarism; frequent political assassinations infested the Romagna, and secret combinations had more power there than the government. Sanfedism added fresh flame to the wrath of this wrathful pontiff, who entertained a scheme for applying exceptional and violent methods to the cure of that sore, and sent to Ravenna, in the character of legate *a latere*, that Cardinal Rivarola, of whom I have made mention in the preceding chapter. He surrounded himself with *gendarmes* and spies, encouraged informers, set on

foot secret inquisitions, published a proclamation which prohibited going about at night without a lantern in the hand, under pain of such sentence as the authorities might please, and imprisoned persons of every age, class, and condition. Then, on the 31st of August, in the year 1825, he sentenced five hundred and eight individuals. Of these, seven were to suffer death; thirteen, hard labour for life; sixteen, for twenty years; four, for fifteen years; sixteen, for ten years; three, for seven years; one, for five; one, for three; six were to have imprisonment for life in a fortress; thirteen, for twenty years; twelve, for fifteen years; twenty-one, for ten; one, for seven; four, for five; two, for a single year; two were banished for life. Two hundred and twenty-nine were punished by surveillance and the *precetto politico* of the first order; one hundred and fifty-seven by that of the second order. The first of these bound the party not to quit his native town and province; to return home within an hour after sun-set, and not to go out before sun-rise; to appear before the inspector of police every fifteen days; to confess once a month, and to prove it to the police by the declaration of an approved confessor; and lastly, to perform every year the spiritual exercises for at least three days, in a convent to be chosen by the bishop. The penalty for disobedience was three years of labour on the public works. The *precetto* of the second order was a little less severe, and the penalty for deviation more lenient. The sentences of death were afterwards commuted for perpetual imprisonment. Of the five hundred and eight con-

demned by Rivarola, thirty were noble, one hundred and fifty-six landed proprietors or traders, two priests, seventy-four public functionaries, thirty-eight military men; seventy-two were doctors, advocates, engineers, or men of letters, the rest artisans. The sentence was grounded upon simple presumptions of belonging to the liberal sects, and it was pronounced by the Cardinal *a latere* without any sort of guarantee, whether of defence or of publicity, and without any other rule than the mere will of a Cardinal sitting as judge. There followed a Proclamation, in which a free pardon was declared for all those members of the sects who were not included in the sentence; but if they attached themselves to those bodies afresh, they were to be punished even for the offence which had once received pardon. And lastly, it was provided that, from that time forwards, the heads and propagators of sects should be punished with death upon simple *ex parte* evidence; those who kept arms, emblems, or money, with twenty years of labour on public works; those simply associated, with ten; and lastly, those who, knowing or suspecting the existence of a sect, or the connection of an individual with one, should not give information, were to be punished with seven years of the gallies.

After this burst was over, Rivarola appeared to grow gentle, recalled here and there an exile, did another act or two of grace, declared he had it at heart to reconcile political factions, and in proof of that intention, had a strange plan, that in

Faenza, a city afflicted more than any with party quarrels, there should be celebrated, by way of example to the public, various marriages, for which he paid the dowry and the charges. In that place the common people called the Carbonari or Liberals, who were numerous in the town, dogs, and the Sanfedists, or Pope's friends, who were strong in the suburbs, cats; and as the year of Jubilee drew near, and the Liberals were accused by the Sanfedists of being heretics and misbelievers, companies of Friars went about upon a mission to preach repentance and amendment. They made their pulpits in the streets and public places, and entertained the crowd, preaching about politics more than about religion. There was an universal crusade against liberal opinions; in Spain, the Constitution had already been destroyed by the sentence of the Congress of Vienna, and the intervention of constitutional France. Everywhere the police was hard at work, watching and keeping down the friends of change; and the police of Rome feared that they would repair to the Eternal City in the dress of pilgrims on occasion of the jubilee, for the purposes of plotting and sedition: but, notwithstanding, the courageous Leo resolved that it should open on the 24th of December, 1824. He sent the consecrated cap and rapier to the Duke of Angoulême, who had restored the absolute power of the Crown in Spain, and the silver-embroidered mantle of the jubilee to the Duchess, his wife; yet the liberal sects had not lost ground in opinion, while they had increased in wrath, from their recent discomfitures. The sermons,

the jubilee, the tardy clemency, and the conciliatory extravagances of Rivarola, had failed to allay the exasperated temper raised against him. In Ravenna, resentment put arms into the hands of some most daring assassins, who attempted his life. When he had repaired, or been recalled, to the capital, there was sent into Romagna an extraordinary Commission, composed of pettifogging lawyers and of military men, and presided over by a certain Monsignore Invernizzi.

This Commission not only was diligent in endeavouring to discover the authors of the attempt upon the life of Cardinal Rivarola, and of the political assassinations recently committed, but it likewise resumed the investigation relating to the sects. At first there was no result; but afterwards, when impunity had been promised to those who should inform, and due provision made by subornation and by bribery, it obtained the means of discovering both leaders and followers, and filled the prisons with them. And because, wherever investigations are founded on the testimony of informers and conducted in secrecy, innocence can have no security, it happened that not a few guiltless persons were confounded with the guilty by this commission of Invernizzi, of which the recollection still survives in Romagna, both as odious and as terrible. It seemed as if the towns were in a state of siege; the *gendarmes*, wanton and menacing, strutted at all hours in the public streets; by day and night they dogged the townsmen, and pried into their houses; they arrested, put in irons, and insulted them; the prisons would

not hold such multitudes; ancient convents, and other roomy buildings, were adapted for use in that capacity; the persons in confinement were cut off from every source of intercourse, were constantly watched by the *gendarmes*, and were afflicted with all sorts, both of moral torture and of corporal suffering. At last, many and heavy sentences were pronounced, and in Ravenna the punishment of death was inflicted in an unusual manner, namely, by the gallows, upon seven individuals charged with Carbonarism, and with complicity in the political assassinations; and the corpses of those who had been hung were exposed to the public, in order to strike terror by the sight, for an entire day. They were indeed guilty, but others more so had purchased life and liberty at the shameful price of turning informers; they were guilty, but the cruelty of the commission, the iniquitous methods of inquiry, of trial, and of punishment, had excited the minds of the citizens against the judges; and the pranks of Sanfedism and of the government had in such a way perverted the public mind, that no one was any longer esteemed a criminal for conspiring against them, no one was called an assassin for slaying a Sanfedist by treachery, but rather there was compassion for those who suffered on the gallows for such causes. In fact, the very day on which the gallows were planted, the townspeople, to avoid the horrible sight, dispersed in the neighbouring country, and the city was full of melancholy and gloom. In Rome, too, one Targhini, a Carbonaro and a homicide, lost his head about that

time, as did a certain Montanari, a surgeon, his accomplice; nor was the effect and the example such as are commonly produced by just punishments, under governments that enjoy respect. However, the tedious and prolonged investigations, the arrests, sentences, exiles, punishments, the depositions of the informers, and the impunity enjoyed by them, broke up the sects in Romagna. Monsignor Invernizzi, who said he knew every thing about them, gave it to be understood that he would give or obtain pardon for those of their members who would, of their own accord, confess their misdeeds, and renounce the sects in writing. They came in at first by hundreds, then by thousands; it was a public disgrace; it became a fashion to act, as they called it, *the spontaneous*. This was a circumstance which took away credit and character from the sects, and supplied the police and Sanfedism with abundant material for subsequent inquisitions and persecution.

During the time of these occurrences, Leo did not omit to apply his will and mind to other cares. The vast landed possessions in the Marches, called the appanage, which Beauharnais, when Viceroy of Italy, had received by way of provision, and which his heirs had kept, were an eyesore to the clerical party. The Pope dispatched to Munich a certain Count Troni, that he might devise some mode of resumption or of composition, so that all vestiges of the fortune of Napoleon's family might disappear; but it was in vain. The new Emperor Nicholas now mounted the throne of the Czars, and the Pope sent to St. Petersburgh,

with his congratulations, Monsignor Tommaso Bernetti, Governor of Rome, to whom he afterwards gave the purple in October, 1826. Bernetti was a clear-headed man, keenly attached to the independence of Rome and to clerical power, and an adept in governing after the Roman fashion. Leo named him Secretary of State in January, 1827, and received from him effective aid both in council and in action, conformably to his own mode of policy and administration. He dogged and hunted down the enemies of the throne and the altar, as they called the Liberals, but not in such a way as to place himself wholly at the mercy of those dangerous friends, the Austrians, or to promote the aggrandisement of the Imperial fortunes at the expense of the States of the Church. Leo XII. and Cardinal Bernetti preserved in its original purity the anti-imperial spirit of Sanfedism; and although the Pope publicly blessed the Austrian troops on their return from Naples, yet there is no doubt that he did not like their scouring the Pontifical dominions.

Truth requires me to relate, that, in the reign of Leo XII., and under Bernetti's administration, some good and useful acts were done. There were abuses removed, and persons guilty of them punished; endeavours were made to set in order the hospitals and charitable institutions of Rome; streets, bridges, and other public works, were completed or commenced; general security was re-established in those districts that had been plundered by brigands; method was introduced into the expenditure, and the land-tax

was diminished by a third; a sinking fund for extinguishing the public debt was established on an adequate basis. These were benefits which might have gained for the papal authority the strength both of gratitude and of love, if, when the people were presented with them, they had been gratified simultaneously with those institutions and those civilizing laws which others, even though subjects of absolute monarchies, enjoyed; and if they had not been accompanied with superfluous severities and acts of political injustice. But the people could not appreciate the good which in certain respects the government was effecting, because it still steered the vessel of state against the current of the age, for the advantage of a caste, sometimes of a clique. It bore a grudge to the most noble and valuable acquisitions of civilization; it honoured the infamous profession of the informer; it viewed learning with suspicion, and slighted it. The people were made to feel the stroke of these evils the more forcibly, by the comparisons that were drawn with other states, and especially with the neighbouring one of Tuscany, where the new Grand-duke Leopold, too, followed the path, that his father and grandfather had trodden before him. And those extravagant assaults upon the Liberals, that practice of clothing inquisitors with the long robe and judges with the cowl, that mixing up religion with politics, and ecclesiastics with police officers, that placing the throne upon the altar, rendered the government and the clerical party odious to persons of refinement, to the youth hopeful of the future, to

the cultivated laity, which revolted in heart against the domination of the clergy. And because that public opinion, by which governments acquire stability or fall, forms itself out of the sentiments, the likes and the dislikes, of that very description of people, and not according to the sympathies and the notions of the stupid and indifferent multitude, hence it happened that every thing abusive was stated and believed, about Rome, and the cardinals, and the government of priests. These circumstances kept alive the disposition to conspire, and paved the way for the excesses both of friendly and of hostile factions.

Leo XII. died at the beginning of 1829, and bequeathed to his successor much more of discontent among the laity, and resentment among the Liberals, than he had himself inherited from his predecessor.

CHAP. III.

ELECTION OF PIUS VIII. (CARDINAL CASTIGLIONE), MARCH 31. 1829.—CARDINAL ALBANI, SECRETARY OF STATE. — POLITICAL INQUISITIONS AT CESENA. — REVOLUTION AT PARIS IN 1830. — CONSPIRACY OF THE LIBERALS IN ITALY. — FRANCIS IV., DUKE OF MODENA. — CIRO MENOTTI. — DEATH OF PIUS VIII. ON NOV. 30. 1830.

In the Conclave, which was summoned as usual in respect to time and form, Cardinal Albani, who led a considerable section, and who was connected with Austria both by party and by parentage, exerted himself with success for the election of Cardinal Francesco Saverio Castiglioni di Cingoli, who was made Pope on the 31st of March of the same year, 1829, and took the name of Pius VIII. He was sixty-eight years old. Of his life, thus much was known, that Pius VII. had consecrated him Bishop of Montalto in 1800; that Napoleon had confined him first to the city of Milan, then to Pavia, then to Mantua; that in 1816 he had been made Cardinal, then Bishop of Cesena, then of Frascati, and lastly Great Penitentiary. There was little said of his political opinions, as he was a man whose whole life had been spent only in the duties of the priesthood. He had a reputation for piety and devotion, with some propensity to superstition. I have, however, read many letters which, when Bishop of Cesena, he wrote to Cardinal Sanseverino, by which it is clearly shown that he was averse to change and its friends, well disposed to

the Sanfedists, and vigilant against the Carbonari, perhaps to a greater degree than beseems the pastoral character. Scarcely had he become Pope, when he named for Secretary of State, Cardinal Albani, more a courtier than a churchman, and in my opinion more Ghibelline than Guelph. The reign of Pius VIII. was extremely short, and one would say unmarked either for good or evil, were it not that he destroyed a certain portion of good that even Leo had done, and that the policy of the Court of Rome now sank into entire subserviency to Austria. Cesena, once the episcopal see of Cardinal Castiglioni, still preserves a painful recollection of political inquisitions and sentences undergone during his pontificate; while all Romagna remembers the augmented power of Sanfedism, which, in fact, governed it under the Pope's name.

The French revolution of 1830, and those that followed it in Belgium and Poland, raised the spirits of the Liberals in the Papal States, who rejoiced over the fall of Charles X. from his throne with the same exultation with which, a few days before, the Sanfedists had hailed the famous ordinances of the Polignac ministry. Having their spirits cheered by this *ignis fatuus* from France, and their minds buoyed up by her generous language, the Liberals made much of her promises, as she gave it to be understood that she would everywhere promote respect to the principle of non-intervention. Accordingly, they took to plotting with such hardihood as they never before had evinced. They held correspondence with their friends in the other Italian provinces, with the French, whom they

thought their friends, and with their fellow countrymen the refugees; and they made preparations to take advantage of their good fortune in arms. Those refugees who sojourned in Paris, had interviews with Lafayette, and with other men that then had, or were thought to have, influence; gave and received from them counsel, warmed them for enterprises of liberty, and were warmed by them in return. There was no well-grounded scheme; one wished to place the sons of Beauharnais at the head of the movement in Italy, another thought of egging on some Italian sovereign, and others had their separate plans. The conspirators of the Pontifical State were, for the most part, either followers of Voltaire or indifferentists in the matter of religion, materialists in philosophy; almost all of them Constitutionalists in politics, some in the French fashion, others in the Spanish. But, whether unitarians or federalists, few of them had any well-defined conception, either philosophical or political, or any true and comprehensive idea of nationality. The greater part of them thought chiefly of what they had to pull down, about building up they meant to think afterwards; only anxious, to speak plainly, that in the mean time the priests and the Sanfedists should be well beaten, and their odious government done away with.

It was whispered in the provinces of Romagna, that Francis IV., duke of Modena, promoted the conspiracy by arms and money; and certain symptoms of indulgence, besides his intimacy with Ciro Menotti, head of the Modenese conspirators, gave credibility

to that report. Could it be that the Duke entered into those intrigues with the hope that, peradventure, France, so much given to lighting conflagrations in Europe, would move, and that the Liberals would become his footstool for reaching the brilliant throne he courted? Or is it true, on the contrary, that he dissembled with the generous Menotti, and sought by dishonourable means to detect the conspiracy, and those engaged in it, for the advantage of Austria, and for his own security? The judgment of history remains in suspense between these opposite ideas and conclusions of contemporaries. The first is more probable, if we look to his ambition, stimulated by an opportunity which had a favourable aspect; the second, if we consider the cunning of the Duke, and his ungenerous disposition. It has also been said, that he favoured the plot until he had learned from Vienna that Austria was determined to intervene, in case of revolt in any Italian State whatever, and that the new King in France shrank from contests attended with risk; and that he then began to think about securing his petty throne, and receded from the promises he had made to Menotti. Austria gave seeming signs of believing in the complicity of the Duke of Modena, by seeking evidence of it from the exiles whom, after the events of 1831, she arrested on the Adriatic, and carried into the prisons of Venice; but, nevertheless, she kept him on the throne, and shortly after gave him great influence in managing her Italian policy. The secret remained locked in the Duke's heart, and in the breast of Menotti, who was hanged

Two sepulchres have closed upon it: on the sod, that covers the bones of the youth thus betrayed, the freeman from afar sheds tears and flowers; over the splendid tomb of the ferocious despot, the children of the multitudes he tortured curse his memory.

To resume the thread of my narrative, I must in passing state, that the Pontifical Government made no effort at repression, while on the one hand the Sanfedists were in despondency, and on the other the Liberals, in high spirits, pursued their plots without disguise. I have to subjoin, that Pope Pius VIII., weighed down by years, and infirm in his general health, fell dangerously ill at the beginning of autumn, and died on the 30th of November, of the same year, 1830.

CHAP. IV.

STIR IN ROME DURING THE CONCLAVE. — ELECTION OF GREGORY XVI. (CARDINAL CAPELLARI) ON FEBRUARY 2. 1831. — REVOLUTION AT BOLOGNA ON FEBRUARY 4. AND ITS EXTENSION. — CARDINAL BENVENUTI. — THE AUSTRIANS AT PARMA AND MODENA. — GENERAL ZUCCHI AT BOLOGNA. — INTERVENTION OF THE AUSTRIANS. — SKIRMISH OF MARCH 25. AT RIMINI. — CAPITULATION OF ANCONA. — COMPLAINTS OF THE LIBERALS AGAINST FRANCE. — MEMORANDUM OF THE FIVE POWERS ON THE 10TH OF MAY. — MOTU PROPRIO OF JULY 5. — DEPARTURE OF THE AUSTRIANS ON JULY 15.

At the time when the Cardinals were collected in conclave, there were plots, not only in the provinces, but also in the capital. The brothers Napoleon and Louis Buonaparte, sons of Louis, formerly King of Holland, were among the conspirators; there were some official men and soldiers, and some students from the provinces, but few Romans, and those few not of such a quality as to have either following or character among the people of the city. They thought, that by daring they could make up for their want of numbers; that they would raise a tumult unexpectedly, possess themselves of the Castle of St. Angelo, and of one or two other important posts by surprise, and raise the cry of Italy, Rome, and freedom! The police got scent of these seditious practices, arrested a few conspirators, and warned others. Some of the most hot-headed determined notwithstanding to attempt, and even to accelerate, the enterprise, which finished in a short scuffle with the soldiers of the guard in the *Piazza*

Colonna; giving occasion for new arrests, flights, and banishments. Perhaps that disturbance moved the congregated Cardinals to cut short all delay, and to give a head to the menaced State. Accordingly, on the second of February, 1831, they raised to the throne Cardinal Mauro Capellari of Belluno, formerly a Carmelite monk, and general of the order, who took the name of Gregory XVI., and chose Cardinal Bernetti his Secretary of State. Capellari, a man of the Church and the Cloister, had the character of a learned theologian, and of having written valuable works about the Church, but he was new to politics and to government.

On the 3rd of February, the Duke of Modena arrested some conspirators, and led a body of trusty soldiers against the house of Ciro Menotti, where others of the band made a desperate resistance. Closely besieged and overcome by force, they were cast into gaol, and brought to trial before a military Commission. The news of that calamity came rapidly to the neighbouring city of Bologna, and produced such excitement, that on the evening of the 4th the Liberals got up a disturbance, and raising shouts of liberty, they collected in arms over against the palace of the Government, and uttered menaces of violence. The Papal soldiers either joined the insurgents, or gave up their arms, or let things take their course. Monsignor Clarelli, who governed the province during the vacancy of the see, whether yielding to fear or to the representations of some respected citizens, subscribed a decree by which he

named a provisional Commission of government, and established a civic guard. The next day the Pope's arms were taken down, and the tricolour flag put up. Thus, then, the sixteenth of the Gregories had scarcely mounted the steps of the throne, when the rebellion commenced at Bologna, spread rapidly from hour to hour and from day to day in Romagna, and then in the lower provinces; without effort of the rebels, without resistance from the soldiery, so that it appeared a public merry-making rather than a political revolution.

The Duke of Modena, after hearing of the movement at Bologna, retired panic-struck to Mantua with his guards. Dragging with him the captive Menotti, he left the field in possession of the friends of change. The Duchess of Parma, too, repaired to Piacenza, and at Parma the government was changed, but nowhere else in the Italian States. These limited and feeble acts of insurrection were essentially inadequate for commencing, much more completing, an Italian revolution; yet the provisional government of Bologna, relying on the pledges of non-intervention, were not satisfied with employing their position to find some means of inducing Rome to adopt reforms, but resolved to consummate their rebellion, and on the 8th of the month the advocate Vicini, President of the provisional government, declared the temporal dominion of the Pope for ever at an end, both *de jure* and *de facto*. With brief and unpretending words, such as suit the subject matter, I will refer to the few and slight particulars that require to be recorded; for I have neither to re-

late the energetic virtue of generals, nor the gallantry of soldiers, nor any splendid patriotism, nor exalted sacrifices, nor madness in the people, nor sagacity in the prince. The times were degenerate and odd, neither calm and secure through peace, nor yet boisterous through any vehemence of the factions. There had been, indeed, no peace for fifteen years in the Pontifical State, where Prince and people lived in continual suspicion the one of the other, and where contending sects were engaged in alternate efforts at mutual destruction; nor can we correctly call by the names of revolution and war, the almost bloodless proceedings of 1831, which created little alarm in their commencement, were encountered with little danger, and terminated with little loss.

The public functionaries and official servants of the Pope, whether prelates, civilians, or soldiers, proved to be unfaithful, or weak persons, or poltroons. There was no effort, as I have already said, on the part of the rebels, no resistance by the soldiery. At Forli, whether it were the impatience of the Liberals, or the less haste of the Prolegate in giving way, the troops exchanged a few shots with them, little to the loss of either side. At Ancona, one Suthermann, commanding the fortress, capitulated to Sercognani, an old soldier of Napoleon who was at the head of a few hundreds of youths, unaccustomed to handling arms. The soldiers of the Pope, who by one of the articles of the capitulation, were entitled still to serve under his flag, deserted it to a man; and the Commandant, with the Delegate, went post to Rome,

bearing the bad news. In other places the heads of the soldiery became the heads of the insurrection; while governors, judges, and municipal magistrates, either submitted or withdrew, offered their services to the revolution, or even flung themselves at its feet. Only the city of Rieti in Sabina refused to open its gates to Sercognani, the General of the insurgents, and this came about through the advice and exertions of the Bishop, Monsignor Gabriello Ferretti; but it is not clear whether he managed to keep them at a distance by firing musketry from within the walls, or by distributing money without them. There was a petty skirmish between Otricoli and Borghetto, and nothing else. At Rome there was, for some days, such bewilderment in the Government, such alarm among the Sanfedists, such excitation in the public mind, that a slight effort would have sufficed to produce utter confusion. However, in the towns and provinces where the government had been changed, there was neither party anger, nor public nor private vengeance; there was security and confidence as great as if no danger had been at hand; the national guards kept holiday, there were tricolor flags, illuminations, hymns, harangues more than enough; in fact, it was a stage revolution. The members of the provisional governments were, in truth, much fonder of diplomatic correspondence than of the great revolutionary game; they sent ambassadors to the Government of the neighbouring and tranquil province of Tuscany, offering and asking amity; they trusted in the alliance and protection of France; and, with a view of attracting the favour of

the new King, and removing a cause of suspicion and jealousy, they prevented the sons of Louis Bonaparte, not only from ostensibly aiding the revolution, but even from continuing to serve in the capacity of private soldiers, which they had already assumed in Umbria. They confined them to Forlì, where the elder brother fell ill of the measles, and died in a few days. In the mean time the insurgent provinces sent deputies to Bologna. It was done to concentrate there their political and military, rather than their administrative, proceedings; for, as to these latter, they all wished to act independently of one another. The deputies, having met together, fixed for the 26th of February the commencement of the union of the provinces, and the separation of the legislative, judicial, and executive powers respectively, and they named a council of ministers, with Vicini for its President. Rome, on her part, received from Austria offers of intervention, and accepted them; but it would have taken place even if she had declined. She dispatched at the same time into the revolted provinces Cardinal Benvenuti, Bishop of Osimo, with the powers of legate *a latere*, in order that he might, if possible, find the means of restoring the Papal Government, so that foreigners might not have the glory and the profit of it. But Benvenuti was arrested in Osimo, and, being carried prisoner to Bologna, ran some risk of his life upon the road.

I think that I cannot better give a knowledge of the spirit with which the mind of those who directed the revolution was possessed, than by placing upon record the document published by Vicini, in which,

amidst erroneous ideas, paltry municipal complaints, pettifogging sophisms, political blunders, and puerile declamation, there are nevertheless true allegations, both of facts and of grievances. Here it is: —

"Giovanni Vicini, President of the Provisional Government of the City and Province of Bologna, to his fellow-townsmen.

"Scarcely had the new Pontiff, Gregory XVI., been chosen to the highest office in the Church, when he complained bitterly of divine Providence, because the people who had been subject to him had withdrawn themselves from the temporal dominion of the Popes. Nor did he consider that the divine Founder of Christianity had never insured to them a power of such a kind, nay, rather that he had in clear terms forbidden it. And then addressing himself to his subjects aforesaid with sentiments of an apparent humility even more than evangelical, he promised them a full pardon in order to bring them back all the better to himself; as if men wanted pardon, when they are vindicating rights of which they have been most iniquitously despoiled. Soon after, the prime minister of this sovereign, who is clothed in such evangelical meekness, dared to promulgate certain disgraceful edicts; a minister no less savage than a Sejanus, no less ignorant and inflated with self-conceit than an Augustulus, and no less prodigal, but only of the public money, than an Heliogabalus; who confesses in so many words the absence of any legitimate power to control the generous movement of the people, and confounds the sanctity of that religion which we venerate, with that despotic sway of thrones which we abhor. By these edicts, inviting the citizens to arm, he shows that all the hope of the tiara and of the sceptre is placed upon civil war alone; so much so

that the sound of our bells, till now one of joy and peace, suddenly become doleful, is to be the miserable signal of the strife of brethren and of the effusion of the blood of citizens. But inasmuch as we were the first to shake off the intolerable yoke, and to relieve ourselves from the long-enduring shame of the unenlightened government of the priests, we think it a duty towards the people with whom we have had a common servitude, and now have a common cause, to set forth the reasons, which have incited us to redeem our country from an unmerited slavery.

"When the power of the Cæsars had founded despotism on the ruins of the Roman republic, and the blood of free citizens cemented that monstrous edifice, the Church, then in its infancy, lacerated, despised, bathed in the blood of martyrs, intent only upon propagating the maxims of the Gospel, became venerated among those nations, to which the knowledge of it was given. But when she had waxed rich through the extravagant donations of Charlemagne and the imbecile Matilda, and conceived the daring project of making herself mistress of all Italy, then, in the same proportion as the lust of dominion gained ground within her, religion began to wane. Hence arose the horrible feuds between the Hierarchy and the Empire, and the two factions, that went by the names of Guelph and Ghibelline. Of the first of these the Pontiffs were the leaders: for a long course of ages they lacerated Germany as well as the whole of Italy, and they put provinces and towns in arms, for mutual extermination. But, in spite of this policy, she was not powerful enough to make the conquest of this lovely country, nor was she virtuous enough to renounce the dominion over temporal things, forbidden by heaven and detested by man; so she clung to the maxim of crafty politics, which compresses itself in those few words—'*Divide et impera.*'

"For this, then, we are indebted to the Court of Rome, namely, that we have seen religion dwindling in the breasts of the faithful, and that Italy has been unable to unite under a single flag. Then Bologna, through the hostile dispositions

of the Popes, was dragged by means of the faction above named into most bloody civil feuds; Bologna, an ancient seat of the Etruscans, afterwards admitted to Roman citizenship, then preserved, even by the very Emperors, in a portion of its franchises, with abundance of privileges, and at last empowered by Otho the Great, after he had driven the barbarians from Italy, to govern itself under the form of a free and strong Republic. Thus this city, that was powerful enough to triumph over Frederic Barbarossa, and to hold prisoner the son of Frederic the Second, and that knew how to quell the pride of the Venetians, who disputed her right of navigation, yet could not preserve herself from the insidious preponderance of the Popes, and in the year 1276, by the perfidious advice of Prendiparte, placed herself under the protection of the fugitive Pope Nicholas III., just then escaped from the danger into which the insurrection of Rome had brought him. But this protection of Nicholas III., who had covenanted to allow of the free government of the republic, very soon changed into open oppression, and the Bolognese were enabled to verify by experience the maxim, that the favour of the powerful is always a serious and formidable affair; inasmuch as neither Nicholas III. nor his successors gave heed to anything else, than to convert into absolute rule the protection they themselves had promised. Hereupon Bologna, that had over and over again wrought out its own rescue, brought matters to such a point, that more kindly Pontiffs, and especially Eugene IV., could not but recognize, in spite of themselves, her emancipation as just and regular. Thus Bologna recovered all those advantages which attend upon a state of freedom; but only for a short time: for when the bloody feuds of Guelphs and Ghibellines were at an end, new contests arose between the patricians and the plebeians; for the latter demanded, and with consistency too as champions of liberty, the exercise of civil franchises, which was denied them by the former, and the Popes so knavishly knew how to profit by these intestine strifes, that Bologna, through their insidious arts, fell afresh under

the protection of the Church. It was in the year 1447, and Nicholas V. was sitting on the Papal throne, when this happened.

"The conditions of the surrender were as follows: that the free government of the city should continue for ever under the forms fixed by its laws; that the Cardinal Legate, to be dispatched from the Holy See, should not be authorised to decide anything, without the consent of the local authorities; that the Bolognese Exchequer should continue entirely apart from that of the venerable Apostolic See, and that all the revenues should be paid into the public municipal chest; lastly, that the city and province should be entitled at all times to the right of self-defence by their own means.

"These conditions, although they were confirmed by twenty-seven Pontiffs, successors to Nicholas V., were, notwithstanding, in the course of time, *de facto* only, and by most unlawful violence, broken and done away with. For, having subverted the ancient order of things, and having changed our free government into despotism, the new Popes imposed upon us most heavy and insupportable taxes, not to spend them, as in former times, for the behoof of the community, but rather for the exclusive advantage of the Apostolic treasury; nor did they render any account of this expenditure. They then entered the province with the Papal armies, certainly not to defend our country, but simply to oppress it; and at length, in order that we might not be able to reclaim for any good purpose our independence, the first and holiest of our rights, they severed an integral part of the province, Castel Bolognese, which we had lawfully gained, and with this they put the finishing hand to their execrable despotism.

"However, the violation of the covenants and conditions under which a city or province has given itself over to another state, essentially infringes the compact in favour of the party that suffered the injury, and authorises it, by the principles of the public law of nations admitted throughout the civilized world, to return unconditionally to its original rights and its antecedent state of freedom and independence, just as if no

compact had been made. Who, then, can fail to perceive how just and legitimate was the declaration promulgated at the outset by this Government, of a perpetual emancipation, both *de facto* and *de jure*, from the temporal dominion of the Popes? And, after the fruitless complaints which were made a thousand times, and renewed so lately, of flagrant violations of good faith, who would tranquilly endure that we should now condescend to new correspondence with a Court whose authority is founded upon treachery, and with a Prince that recently menaced with chains the ambassadors whom our senate had dispatched, and invoked from heaven spiritual thunders against us, who were making our appeal to the sanctity of covenants concluded in solemn form?

"Thus far we have been explaining the grounds, which of themselves would suffice to justify our emancipation. But we have not yet touched upon the reasons, common to all the provinces of which the Pontifical State was composed. These motives, derived from the misconduct of those who govern, destroying the purposes for which every good government is instituted, must ever warrant, in the eyes of justice, the rising of the people. In our case, as may well be believed, under the rule of the Popes not only were we without fundamental laws, without national representation, but we had no provincial councils, no municipal authorities, no security for person and for property; in short, there was a frightful confusion in the discharge of political functions, through which the whole order of regular government was subverted.

"This Sovereign Prince is encircled by seventy-two Princes, each of whom has power to speak in his name, and to promulgate laws and edicts, be they what they may, in every department of the public service. How often the laws or the edicts of the Sovereign, if indeed any good fruit could proceed from such a tree, are made null and void at the discretion of those who were charged to carry them into effect! And when did there ever proceed an ordinance, of whatsoever nature, from a cardinal of the Church, or from a minister, that was not contradicted by another? The Presidents, after the

extinction of the Consulta by which they were at first supported, were sent, like the mandarins of China, to govern the provinces with fire and flame; and, what is worse, without the provident regulation of that empire, under which, when a people is stirred to revolt, the head of the mandarin becomes, by law and *ipso facto*, devoted to public justice.

"Our civil legislation was drawn in great part from the Code of Justinian, qualified from time to time by each successive *motu proprio*, according to the variation of characters in the successive Popes; add to these the mass of canons and papal constitutions, and the innumerable decisions of courts having the force of law, which, to increase the difficulty, were in conflict with each other. Again, for criminal laws we had the proclamations differing in the different provinces, which classified crimes, and measured their enormity according to the decisions of theological casuists, and not of statesmen, who aim at repressing only those actions which combine with the culpability of the agent, detriment to the social body or some of its members. Accordingly, they did not allot punishments in a manner conformable to the ends of corrective justice, whose purpose it is to oppose adequate impediments to the renewal of like transgressions.

"The administration of justice could not be otherwise than a monstrous product of those minds which had favoured or invented a legislation so vicious. A prætor, as judge in the first instance of the causes of our entire province, had to make head against their multitude, and to take upon himself the charge of settling them. In like manner, a judge deputed by the bishop in each diocese, not only took original cognizance of the questions that related to the persons of the clergy, or matters ecclesiastical, but he likewise drew before him the laity in all those causes which, according to the principles of a capricious jurisprudence, were called causes of the mixed forum. The same causes were reviewed in the way of appeal before other judges, also appointed by the bishops. Exemptions again without number rendered the competency of the courts a matter of uncertainty. The *Rota*,

with its barbarous forms, in the capital of the state, would try any cause even fifty times over, and well it was if, even at the last, it acquired the security of a settled question. The *Segnatura* lastly, it too sitting only at Rome, and being a tribunal which ought to have answered to a well constituted Court of Cassation, existed for no other purpose than to perpetuate litigation, bringing back finished causes ever so many times to commence afresh; so that the administration of justice became one not of the least considerable branches of finance for the advantage of the capital, and of the immense crowd of lawyers, who, like locusts, consumed the substance of the wretched suitors from the provinces. But what shall we say of the mode in which corrective justice was dispensed? A president, Legate of the province, who was exclusive judge without appeal in as many civil cases as he chose, had the largest powers to take to himself the decision of all causes where the punishment extended to ten years of the gallies, a decision arrived at by extrajudicial modes, not subject to appeal, and (a thing horrible to reflect upon) without any regular process, without communicating the charge to the accused, and without any instrument whatsoever of defence.

"And here, if my strength were equal to it, I might suitably speak of those sanguinary Commissions, appointed in the Marches, and in high-spirited and warm-hearted Romagna, with the single view of punishing the mere opinions of men; although, as it belongs to God alone to try hearts and consciences, human laws forbid making thought a crime. Accordingly, the tortures proscribed in every cultivated part of Europe, with the stocks, the chains, the blood-money paid to spies, and the promises of impunity, were the instruments of a system so atrocious; even as the fatal sentences, which were pronounced, gave prolonged cause for tears and for unavailing complaint to the mothers and the wives, who were eye-witnesses to the condemnation and destruction of beings so indispensable to their families and so dear to their country.

"Public instruction was organized and carried on in a manner suited rather to confuse than to enlighten the youthful intellect, and this, notwithstanding the ability of many worthy persons dedicated to that most important duty. Hence it happened, that society received into its circle youths furnished with certificates, but not always fitted for the profession to which they had a legal title. The distribution of the branches of science in each faculty was ill grounded; some branches were separated which ought to have constituted a single subject for a single chair. Still worse was the forced order of instruction, inasmuch as the student was obliged to pursue at once two subjects which he ought to have learned in succession, or else to take to the study of some subject, presupposing the knowledge of some other which he was to learn only at a later period. There were no chairs appointed for some of the necessary branches of sciences: this, for instance, was exemplified in the faculty of mathematics, in which, while the study of the differential *calculus* was preceded by a separate instruction in the introduction to it, yet applied mathematics were not in like manner preceded by the study of general physics, for which no professorship was established. This may be said still more strongly of the legal faculty, in which the *jus publicum*, political economy, and civil procedures, had no place. Other branches were indeed tolerated, but without binding students to pursue them; and it was absurd that youths destined for the forum should not be obliged to study rhetoric, — that others intended to follow farming should, if they chose, omit the study of agriculture, — and others, lastly, who were to apply to medicine, for men or animals, should be allowed to pass by the elementary study of natural history. The institution of the so-called professors-substitute was likewise the object of public censure: these were to be acquainted with the respective subjects of four chairs, and to be ready to fill any one of them when vacant, whether through the ill health or the death of its occupant; a method that opened a

free course, not to the truly learned, but rather to the merely impudent.

"Last among these causes I would name the mal-administration of public and private properties; which, bringing us to utter ruin, awakened the compassion of the stranger. The public estates, which had descended to the Holy See from preceding Governments, were assigned to herds of idlers gathered in the cloisters. This province, reduced to only three hundred thousand inhabitants (while the rest were in the same or a worse condition), contributed to the public revenue more than six millions of francs. Not even a third part of the sum was spent for purposes of public benefit to the provinces and the communes, even including the payment of interest to the creditors of the consolidated fund. A large proportion of the rest was wasted in the vile and horrible administration of the State taxes direct and indirect,—a system which, though known by those in power to be ruinous, was notwithstanding maintained, to favour the countless swarm of functionaries of the Exchequer, of receivers, and of revenue officers, at the head of whom was some great personage with the title of Treasurer-general, who not being obliged to give any account, and never giving any, would leave an immense fortune to his relatives; and even if found too palpably guilty of enormous peculation, and this long continued, yet could not be got out of his office except by the bribe of the Purple, then to give place to a successor that might fearlessly follow his example. The remaining part, that might escape from such wholesale dilapidation, was gorged by the public purse of the Reverend Chamber, to foment the passions and vices of that wicked Court, to maintain in oriental luxury seventy-two satraps, the successors of the poor and barefooted disciples of Christ, and to keep on foot the hellish Commissions of the Apostolic See, seated in the Spains and in Portugal, for the purpose of confirming ignorance, and of plucking up every germ of civil liberty.

"Citizens! after the three memorable days of Paris, whose wonders posterity will read with admiration, gratefully asso-

ciating them with the six first days in which the universe was made, the spirit of freedom, boiling in the minds of men, gained new force, and by degrees displayed itself in open day through the greater part of Europe, including this lonely region of Italy, alas! too long trodden down by the hoary Priest. We were the first to uplift the sacred flag; the other provinces, with whom we had a common slavery, a common need, a common anxiety for deliverance, speedily imitated the generous example. We have no further precedence than that of time, in all the rest we are brothers, and as such we wish for a complete unity, as we have enjoyed it in rising up to new life, and as the interest that binds us together is entirely one. Men asked at the outset if a simple confederation would meet the exigencies of the public weal, but it was soon perceived to what, and how great, disorders federalism is liable. In the middle ages the Municipalities of Italy, when freed from the incursions of the barbarians, grew up into so many republics, distinct, independent, and connected only by the tie of confederation. But, by a sad necessity, they fell a prey to all those Emperors who set themselves to conquer Italy and lay it waste. Let there then be proclaimed an union in the most perfect form; let the provinces so united combine into a single state, a single government, a single family. The neighbouring Powers will commend our high-minded efforts; and, themselves respecting the most sacred principle of non-intervention, will acknowledge the sufficiency of the reasons which incited us to seek for our regeneration.

"But if the circumstances already discussed, and many more which might be named, should not suffice for the purpose, still would not the conduct followed by the Holy See since our deliverance stand in lieu of all the rest, to make known in the face of Europe the temper of that Court, and the grounds on which its subjects should emancipate themselves for ever from so degrading a dominion? Christ consigned to Peter and his successors the keys to loose and bind consciences for spiritual purposes alone. Declaring that His

kingdom was not of this world, He denied to the one and the other the dominion over temporal things. This dominion was usurped by the Pontiffs from their own ambition, and with the heaviest wrong to their Divine Founder. But, even were that dominion legitimate, how could the Pope so confound the ways of heaven with those of earth, as to make use of the keys to compel the people to temporal subjection? What, then, avail the threats of censures, of excommunications, of anathemas, to defend a dominion over things temporal? Let him, then, as the former Sovereign of these provinces, come with his arms: we shall know how to oppose force to force. But let him not pretend to snatch away the keys from Peter, and to direct against us spiritual thunders, for so impious an attempt would be abhorred alike by God and by man. Let him use, I say again, legitimate force, nor let any tool of his blind vengeance bestir himself to bring the torch of discord into these countries, and to excite their inhabitants to the cruelties of mutual slaughter.

"But already this Roman Hydra feels that she is dying, and makes these last efforts in her final agony. Nothing else, however, remains to her but to turn her poisoned bite against her own bowels, and to perish in suicidal madness. Should she yet try to sprinkle us with some remainder of her envenomed foam, we shall know how to crush her. Our union with the provinces will suffice to fill the cup of her alarm, and utterly to extinguish her. Longing for this union from the very first moment of my presiding over the government, I have been indefatigably employed in promoting it; and I venture to say, not without pride, I have been in no small degree the cause of our now seeing it happily achieved. Well then may I cheerfully lay down my brief presidency of the government of this city and province, to mingle with the deputies of the United Provinces, in order to lend a hand, according to my ability, in raising the new social edifice. Born, so to speak, and brought up amidst these noble popular revolutions, president of a Republic before I had completed the fifth lustre of my life, you shall now see me, though weighed down with years, among the foremost and the nimblest of

those who tread the path of our regeneration. In the mean time, I return to you the best thanks I can give for the continual proofs you have supplied of your kindly feeling towards me; and assuredly, as long as I have breath, I shall retain of it, in the depths of my heart, a lively and most sweet recollection.

"Given from the public Palace of Bologna the 25th February, 1831."

On the 25th of February, 800 Austrians between foot and horse belonging to the garrison of Piacenza, surprised and dispersed the limited force that the Provisional Government of Parma kept afoot at Firenzuola. The Duchy of Parma, the Duchy of Modena, and the so-called United Provinces of the Roman State, not only governed themselves as distinct and separate States, just as they had been described in the protocols, but, with an astounding simplicity, they would have the principle of non-intervention respected, and so they made it a matter of conscience not to combine their means of defence, and not to succour one another. When Parma had fallen came the turn of Modena. General Zucchi, a distinguished soldier of Napoleon, had scarcely heard the cry of freedom, when he repaired with speed to Reggio in the Modenese, his native place, and the Provisional Government of the State had received him with great rejoicings and honour, and named him to the command of the few troops they had. In the beginning of March the partisans of the House of Este, who had followed the Duke of Modena on his departure, came with the Austrians to attack the

contingents of Novi and Carpi, worsted them, and advanced towards the capital of the Duchy. Zucchi for three days made all the resistance that he could against an overpowering force; he then quitted Modena, and made an orderly retreat to the confines of Bologna. The Provisional Government of the united Provinces afforded a refuge to him and to his people, but required that they should enter without arms. To such an extent were these gentle babes of revolutionists scrupulous in the observance of the principle of non-intervention, that, even when the German sword was on their flanks, they aped diplomatic reserve, and manifested their still continuing confidence in that new and signal French imposture. But after a few days it became plain, that the Austrians meant to proceed to stifle the insurrection likewise in the Roman States, and then the command in chief of the Liberal army was given to General Zucchi. It was in great part composed of young volunteers; the troops of the line were few, the cavalry fewer still, the artillery scantiest of all. The seat of the Provisional Government was removed to Ancona; Zucchi divided his men into two bodies, and directed the one to retire by the Lower Romagna, the other by the *Via Emilia*. On the 21st of March the Austrians took possession of Bologna, and there restored the Pontifical Government, the reins of which were provisionally entrusted to the Cardinal Archbishop Opizzoni. Zucchi had reunited at Rimini the two columns of his little army on the night of the 24th. Outside the city, and at a short distance, where the *Via Emilia* meets with the coast-road,

there were stationed on guard a battalion composed of troops of the line, and of volunteers, chiefly from Ravenna, in about equal numbers. One part of the force was commencing its retreat in the direction of Cattolica, a place well suited for defence, the rest were dispersed through the city. At about three in the afternoon of the 25th, General Geppert advanced upon Rimini with 5000 foot, 500 horse, and four pieces of artillery. Our trifling force, that was outside the gate at the place above named, opposed to the Austrian vanguard a respectable resistance, so that Zucchi had time to bring into action the troops that he had in the city. He did bring them, and maintained the fight in such a way that the Austrians were twice repulsed, and could not get possession of the town until it was already dusk, and Zucchi had secured the retreat of our men. That action, in which the brave Polish General Grabiski distinguished himself, and in which the volunteers rivalled the line, rather raised than depressed the spirit of the youthful soldiery; inasmuch as a rumour went abroad that the Austrians, though superior in number, had suffered heavy loss, and that at Cattolica, where the whole strength of our force was concentrating itself, it would give battle in good condition. But at the very time when all this was going on, the members of the Government, who, in retiring to Ancona, had carried with them Cardinal Benvenuti, set him at liberty, and agreed with him on these terms: that a general amnesty should be granted, together with a safe conduct for all those who might desire to emi-

grate; that in due time and manner the Liberals should give up their arms, and that the Pontifical Sovereignty should be restored. Terenzio Mamiani was the only member of the Government who would not subscribe this capitulation; but Armandi, the Minister of War, was subsequently blamed for it by all those who thought it would have been practicable to continue the resistance, to appeal again to the fortune of arms, nay, even to push forward the troops of Zucchi, to effect a junction with those of Sercognani, and to make an attempt upon the capital. Armandi justified the advice he had given, by showing the insufficiency of the victualling and defences of Ancona, and that, inasmuch as he considered not only victory, but prolonged and honourable resistance, impracticable, he thought it a less evil to come to terms with the Legate of the Pope, than to submit to foreign conquest. Humane, but feeble-minded advice. The end resembled the beginning; all was precipitancy, pliancy, and meanness of spirit.

The Capitulation of Ancona was not observed, either by the Austrians, or by the Court of Rome. The former entered the town before the day agreed on: the ships of Austria attacked and captured, in the Adriatic, the vessel in which Zucchi was making his escape, together with many Romagnols and Modenese, who were carried to Venice, and there kept in prison for nine months. Zucchi was condemned to death by a council of war, but the punishment was afterwards commuted into that of imprisonment for life. Rome recalled Cardinal Benvenuti, and repudiated

the amnesty. From these circumstances, great was the resentment against Austria, the indignation against Rome, and the complaints of France, which was denounced as a traitress and a breaker of engagements. The Liberals of our country have always had the custom, not yet unlearned, to build their hopes for Italian enterprises on assistance from France, which has never in fact been promised, within our memory, by any Government of France, though often pledged by the discontented of that country, who have not given, and could not give it. They accuse and curse France, and then anew make love to her revolutions, and are anew deluded. Stupid passion, idiotic hopes, and childish anger! In the name of God, do learn for once: come to your senses; be of one mind in desiring and pursuing every practicable good for your country; be resolute, be enduring, and if, when you have expiated your ancient and your recent offences, God sends you the occasion, then use it, and dare.

When the feeble movements in Central Italy had been brought to an end by the intervention of Austria, the diplomatic body, which was much interested in preventing new commotions in the Pontifical States, and in obviating any cause of war, became desirous to recommend modifications in the way of reform to the Court of Rome. Cardinal Bernetti had held out to the people the expectation of such great advantages, that he pompously denominated the commencing reign a "new era;" but in reality no one could see in what point the Govern-

ment was altered or improved, while it was plain that the clerical party continued obstinate in its antiquated notions, and that Sanfedism, stimulated by a certain Baratelli, an agent of Austria, was frantic in Romagna. Some notorious parish priests at Faenza, for example one Babini, who afterwards became Monsignore, one Bertoni and others of that and other towns, factiously excited the lowest of the people against the Liberals, but there were no tokens either of reform, or of order, or of repose. On this account the Foreign Ministers, who were eager to bring the Pontifical States to a condition of durable tranquillity, combined in recommending and proposing to the Court of Rome such measures of adjustment as they thought suitable, and on the 10th of May they presented a Memorandum, of which I here insert a translation.

I.

"It is the opinion of the representatives of the Five Powers, that, for the general advantage of Europe, two fundamental principles ought to be established in the States of the Church: —

"1. That the Government of these States should be placed upon a solid basis, by means of timely ameliorations, as his Holiness himself intended and announced at the outset of his reign.

"2. That such ameliorations, which, according to the expression of the Edict of H. E. Monsignor Cardinal Bernetti, will found a new era for the subjects of his Holiness, should, by means of internal guarantees, be placed beyond reach of the variations inherent in the nature of an elective Government.

II.

"In order to obtain this salutary end, which is of great consequence to Europe on account both of the geographical position, and of the social condition of the Pontifical States, it appears indispensable, that the organic declaration of his Holiness should set out from two fundamental principles:—

"1. That the improvements should take effect, not only in those Provinces where the revolution burst out, but also in those which remained faithful, and in the capital.

"2. That the laity should be generally admitted to administrative and judicial functions.

III.

"It would appear that the improvements ought in the first place to have respect to the judicial system, and to the municipal and provincial administration.

"As regards the judicial system, it is believed, that the full execution and the developement of the promises and the principles of the *motu proprio* of 1816 would afford the most safe and effectual method of putting an end to the very general complaints respecting this most important part of the social organization.

"As regards the Municipal administration, it appears that the following should be viewed as the necessary basis of every practical improvement:—the general re-establishment and appointment of Municipalities elected by the people; and the institution of Municipal privileges, which shall govern the action of the bodies corporate, according to the local interests of the communities.

"In the second place, it appears that the organization of provincial Councils,—whether by means of the permanent executive council appointed to assist the Governor of the Province in the fulfilment of his duties, and endowed with suitable powers, or by any more numerous assembly, especially if chosen from within the range of the new Municipalities, and meant to be consulted upon the most important affairs of the Province,—would be signally useful for

introducing improvement and simplicity into the provincial administration, for superintending the Municipal administration, for allotting the taxes, and for informing the Government respecting the real wants of the Province.

IV.

"The high importance of good order in the Finances, and of such a management of the public debt as may give the security so desirable for financial credit, and may effectually contribute to augment its resources and secure its stability, appear to render indispensable a central establishment in the capital, namely, a supreme Board, charged with the audit of the public accounts for the service of each year, in each branch of the administration, both civil and military, and likewise charged with the care of the public debt, and having powers proportionate to its great and salutary purposes. The more independent such an institution shall be in its nature, and the more it shall present the marks of an intimate union between the Government and the people, the more it will conform to the beneficent intention of the Sovereign, and to the general anticipations. On this account we think that it ought to include persons chosen by the Municipal Councils, who in union with the advisers of the Sovereign should form an administrative *giunta* or *consulta*. This body might or might not form a part of a Council of State, to be chosen by the Sovereign from among the persons most distinguished in birth, property, or talent.

"Unless there were one or more central institutions of such a kind, intimately allied with the influential classes of a country so rich in aristocratic and conservative elements, the very nature of an elective Government would naturally deprive the improvements, which will form the lasting glory of the reigning Pope, of those guarantees of endurance, the need of which is generally and strongly felt, and will be felt so much the more in proportion as the benefits conferred by the Pontiff shall be great and valuable."

It is true that Cardinal Bernetti had spoken of the commencement of the new era, but the Court of Rome did not mean thereby to signify that the State should change from absolute to consultative, or from ecclesiastical to lay, or that there should be introduced those elective Municipal arrangements, and those provisions for financial accountability, which appeared to the diplomatists to be requisite. Accordingly it did not take in good part these over comprehensive counsels, but temporized, shifted about, and met the wishes of the diplomatists, not only piecemeal, but even that more in promises and appearance than in reality, while it disgusted the people. The rebels were pardoned, except thirty-eight, of whom I mention those that then, or afterwards, were remarkable; Orioli, Mamiani, Silvani, Armandi, Ferretti, Sercognani, Pepoli, Bianchetti, Vicini, Malaguti, Zannolini, Montallegri, Bofondi, Fusconi, Pescantini, and Canuti. But the pardon did not relieve those who received it from a teasing surveillance, or from annoyances by the police. By way of specimen of that participation which had been claimed for laymen in the government, they were allowed to preside over one or two of the northern provinces, but with limited powers, and with the title of Prolegate, which signified that they held office provisionally, and in lieu of Cardinal Legates. Lastly, on the 5th of July, was published a *motu proprio* respecting Municipalities, which, instead of the large concessions proposed in the Memorandum, decreed that the original nomination of the Municipal Councillors should belong to the

Government, that then the Councils should be renewed in the method and form pointed out, and should be filled up by self-election, but the Government should always retain full power to accept or refuse the Councilmen elect, as well as those proposed for the magistracy. Nothing was to be discussed in the Municipal Councils without a previous approval by the Government of the subjects and order of the debate; the nomination of Municipal Officers, until it had the sanction of Government, was to be null; an officer of Government was to be present at the sittings of the Municipal Councils, and no resolution was to be valid without the approval of the President of the Province. The *motu proprio*, though it was to be law for the whole State, never took effect in Rome, which remained, as heretofore, without a corporation; the Municipalities in the neighbourhood of the capital continued to depend on the so-called "Congregation of good government," and thus was disregarded even the recommendation, given in the Memorandum, of uniformity in the improvements, and in the laws for the entire State. In short, Rome followed her own bent, and not the wishes and plans of the Ambassadors. But notwithstanding, whether these were satisfied with the little that was done, or whether they believed in the much that was promised, or whether it were that France and England were not pleased that the Austrian occupation should continue longer, the issue was, that in the middle of July the Imperial troops retired from the Legations, without leaving behind any Papal force adequate to hold them.

CHAP. V.

MOVEMENTS IN ROMAGNA. — DEPUTATIONS OF THE PROVINCES TO ROME. — THE PAPAL TROOPS AT RIMINI AND FERRARA. — DISORDERS. — THE PAPAL ENSIGNS. — DISCORD. — DECLARATION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS. — SKIRMISH OF THE LIBERALS WITH THE PAPAL TROOPS AT CESENA IN THE WINTER OF 1832. — ALBANI COMMISSIONER. — FRESH INTERVENTION OF THE AUSTRIANS. — PAPAL SOLDIERY DISBANDED. — FRENCH INTERVENTION AT ANCONA. — COMBES, GALLOY, CUBIÈRES, SAINT AULAIRE. — DISORDERS AT ANCONA. — THE CENTURIONS. — THE SWISS. — POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE GOVERNMENT. — UNTOWARD INCIDENTS.

THE Austrians had scarcely recrossed the borders of the Pontifical State, leaving the usual garrisons at Ferrara and Comacchio, when the Liberal party again took up arms in the four Legations, appointed a civic guard, put to flight the servants of the Government, and made other violent changes. At Forlì two of the Pope's soldiers were killed, and elsewhere other outrages were committed or attempted. Moderate persons used their best efforts to prevent that movement from growing into rebellion; and they so far succeeded, that the arms and colours of the Pontiff were respected, and men's minds were tranquil in the expectation that Rome would execute those reforms, which the foreign Powers had recommended, and would sanction the institution of the civic guard, for which there was a great desire. When this less perilous direction had been given to opinion, each Province deputed respectable persons to the capital, who,

with the aid of advice and good offices from the English and French Ministers, employed themselves with much patience and prudence in trying to bring the Court to the concessions that were desired. At first it appeared inclined to yield, for it promised early judicial reforms, it instituted Provincial Councils, and approved the nomination of those Municipal Councillors who had been chosen by ballot or by the acclamations of the Liberal party. But, meanwhile, the Pontifical troops, who were gathering at Rimini under the command of Colonel Bentivoglio, and the foot and mounted riflemen, whom Zamboni was gathering at Ferrara, prevented these cities from following the example of the rest, and gave no indication of a conciliatory spirit. At the same time the clerical party advised the Court not to yield an inch; Sanfedism began to threaten, and the Pope was busy with measures in Switzerland for taking two regiments into his pay. The lapse of time was useful to the Government, and reduced the disturbed provinces to an ill condition, because the moderate party, which bore rule, had neither force nor a sufficiency of weight; they governed in the Pope's name against the will of the Roman Court, and the people behaved in so loose and unruly a manner, that many disorders and crimes were committed with impunity. The moderates recommended temperance, but the revolutionists accused them as being lukewarm and Papists, and they stirred and blew up continually the flame of passion. Some among the persons who in those days were seen as leaders of tumults and turbulent fomentors of discontent, sowing the seeds of suspicion and mistrust,

might at a later time have been observed receiving rewards from the Austrians and the Sanfedists. For then, as ever, extreme parties on the two sides aided one another alternately; sometimes by direct agreement, sometimes unawares, and by the spontaneous result of the nature of all extreme parties whatsoever. The Sanfedists wished foreigners to understand, that the provinces of Romagna could not frame for themselves a free form of government, and that the Liberal party was composed of persons abandoned to every enormity. Austria wished Europe to understand, that the Government of the Pope was feeble and in its dotage, and that her troops were indispensable to keep in order the unruly inhabitants of the Legations. Hence, both the hostility of intestine factions, and the suggestion of foreign Powers, gave encouragement to excesses; and the illusions of passion and of presumptuous ignorance threw a veil so dense over the judgments of men, that the true friends of the public, the only advisers of what was practicable, came to be charged with treason, while, on the other hand, the common herd of Liberals lifted up their heads, and played into the hands of those really guilty of treason or disorder. The Court of Rome, aware of the discord that was making way in the disturbed provinces, knew, as it always knows, how to use the occasion in making good its own case with foreign Powers. In October it promulgated some judicial reforms, to make a show of its disposition towards improvement. Then it made answer to the deputies, who offered their petition for real and solid reforms,

that they ought to be satisfied in the meantime with aiding the execution of the new laws, to cause the civic guards to adopt the arms and colours of the Pontiff in token of fidelity, and to receive in tranquillity and with good will the permanent force, which the Government was determined to cause to advance as soon as it was ready for that purpose. This occurrence fed the flame of discord, because the hot-headed and seditious, who profited by fishing in troubled waters, did not think fit to be under the control of regular troops; the saucy youth did not choose to mount the derided colours of the Pope, and both the one and the other made head against wise and moderate men, with such effect that obedience was not paid to this certainly just and reasonable injunction. The Government grew angry, and took it for a proof of treasonable intention; they complained of it to the great Powers, who took the matter according to their opinion and passion; and at last they gave it to be understood they were resolved to cut short delay, to send forward the troops from Rimini and Ferrara, to bring the mad to reason and the seditious to obedience, to put an end to the anarchy that raged in certain spots, and to give security to the country. This decision the Ministers of France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia approved; and they made a public declaration of their approval. Only the Minister of England, Sir George Seymour, declined to sign such a declaration, taking his ground on the Memorandum, which the Court of Rome had not accepted nor carried into effect. He withdrew from the conferences, foretelling that, without the

substantial reforms recommended in that Memorandum, neither the troops that the Pope already had, nor the Swiss regiments that he was hiring, would suffice to keep the Provinces in their allegiance, or to prevent new commotons, and new attempts at revolution. To the notes of the Powers was appended a Manifesto of Cardinal Albani, now nominated Commissioner Extraordinary of the four Legations. As soon as it was known in Romagna that Colonel Barbieri was making ready to enter it, and that Colonel Zamboni was threatening to pass the borders of the Province of Ferrara, those who had refused all conciliatory proposals came to a resolution to resist, and the high-spirited youth, who easily suffer themselves to be drawn to what is or appears to be generous, took arms and rushed to Cesena, where they took the field towards the end of January. Colonel Barbieri advanced to engage that small body, which had no head, no military order or discipline, and had but four pieces of artillery, without any trained gunners. The conflict was short; Barbieri had an easy victory. But the result was small, inasmuch as the Liberals retired together, and in good order, along the *Via Emilia*, in the direction of Bologna, where they had a plan of offering further resistance. The victorious forces allowed themselves to run, in Cesena, to such excess of military licence as might be expected from troops for the most part picked up at random, and which had not spared even the shrine of the *Madonna del Monte*, highly venerated by the faithful. On their arrival at Forlì they perpetrated an unheard-of mas-

sacre, inasmuch as, having begun towards the fall of day, without any good cause, to fire upon the inquisitive but peaceable citizens, they slaughtered twenty-five of various age, sex, and station, and did outrage even to their corpses. Cardinal Albani, who had then entered the town, checked their fury, but on the next day he insulted the bereaved population by trumping up excuses and pretexts for this atrocious occurrence.

About the time of these events, General Grabowski gave notice to the Bolognese that the Austrian troops were about to interfere. Upon this the Liberals disbanded; and Bologna was so terrified at the character of the Papal troops for disorderliness, and so apprehensive of the arrival of that herd of them embodied in a hurry, heaven knows how and where, whom Zamboni commanded, that she served them a trick by welcoming the Austrians, who entered the town amidst public rejoicing. Zamboni's men then perpetrated assassinations and riots at Bologna, Lugo, Ravenna, and wherever they went, and the terror-struck citizens received the Austrians in the character of protectors, nay, in some places sent and invited them.

Cardinal Albani commenced his administration with acts of great severity; he published an Edict against secret societies, which was an extension and exaggeration of the famous proclamation of Rivarola, previously mentioned; he imposed a forced loan; he dissolved bodies of magistrates and Municipal Councils, and took arms from every citizen, offices and employments from many. His words were yet more harsh than his acts; an error not uncommon among

those in power, which gives to them and to their government a character more oppressive and odious than they in strictness deserve. Many Liberals, either actually persecuted or intimidated, left the country.

In March, the French took possession of the city and fortress of Ancona by force and without notice. The commanders by sea and land respectively, Combes and Galloy, raised the cry of liberty, and gave indication of hostility to the Pontifical Government, in such a way that first the people of Ancona, and then the Liberals of all Romagna, opened their hearts to a new tide of hope: as though any country could gain liberty at the stranger's hand, and as though it ever could be gained without expending abundantly the treasure properly our own, namely, that of virtues and of sacrifices. The Court of Rome was, or pretended to be, exceedingly indignant, made complaints of this forcible occupation by the French, and protested against it. It then grew more exasperated against its own subjects, who persisted in their rebellious temper, and against whom the Pope discharged the thunders of the Church. The warm and flattering phrases of the French commanders, the sight of those colours and of those troops that had made the circuit of the world, tearing up its thrones by the roots, the memory still fresh of the last revolution at Paris, the language of the tribune and of the journals of France, the retreat of the Pontifical authorities and soldiers to Osimo, with the indignation of the Pontiff and his Court, cast over men's minds the veil of a fatal illusion, and, unhappily, roused their spirits. Many fugi-

tives from Romagna migrated to Ancona, as to a land of promise; the French gave them arms and formed them into a legion jointly with the people of the place, which was called the moveable column, and was intrusted with the care of the public peace and order. Every day it was announced that the French force was about to move and to occupy other towns belonging to the Pope; in the little ports on the Adriatic the ships that were to land them were expected from day to day, so great on the part of the Liberals was the wish, and so great the hope, of change. But the French Government, of which Perier was at the head, shortly despatched the preachers of liberty, Combes and Galloy, to make war upon the Bedouins in Africa, and sent to Ancona, in their stead, a certain General Cubières, who had first been honourably conspicuous in the annals of Napoleon, and afterwards disgracefully in those of the Court of assize. To Rome came that M. de Saint Aulaire, whom afterwards, in 1848, a few days before the Parisian Revolution, we heard magnifying the concessions made by Gregory XVI., and uttering nonsense about the condition of the Pontifical States, in the Chamber of Peers: He was desirous to find some method of assuaging the displeasure of the Pontiff and the Secretary of State: and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with them by guaranteeing to them the friendship of the government of Louis Philippe, and that King's strong wish to preserve the States of the Church in their integrity, to secure to the Churchmen the sway they possessed, and peace, with the restoration of order, to Europe.

The Sanfedists perceived that the course of events was favourable to them, through that oscillation very common among mankind, always tossed, with its imperfect reason, between opposite extremes. It saw the Pontifical Government drawn by events, and by its own nature and destiny, to throw itself into the arms of that politico-religious troop of hirelings that was, or professed to be, devoted to the conservation of the absolute temporal authority of the Pope. It was in danger from the Liberals; in the French it had at best but doubtful friends; Austrian aid was doubtful and perilous, the heterodox Powers suspected. Sanfedism, orthodox in politics as in religion, thought itself equal to sustaining and defending the fabric of the Roman Government by augmenting and training in military discipline the actual force of the sect, and all who on religious or political grounds sympathized with it.

Hence came the idea of a soldiery to be called Centurions, a most ancient institution of the States of the Church, mentioned by the chroniclers, who condemn its working, and eulogize Sixtus V., among other things, for having destroyed it. In the Roman Court there is always found some jealous watchman over the relics of antiquity who, upon occasion, disinters them, and revives them exactly as they were, as if the present and the future were not, and could not be, more than a dead copy of the past. So at this juncture, in defence of the Government, when Cardinal Bernetti was Secretary of State, these Centurions were reproduced. Not indeed that I think the minis-

ter had any merely factious aim, or proposed to employ them except in the way of legitimate defence: but I well know and affirm that they were principally used and abused for the annoyance of the Liberals; it being in the nature of the spirit of party so to blind men, that they think Governments can only be defended by injuring their enemies. Cardinal Brignole, who had come to Bologna as Commissioner Extraordinary instead of Albani, showed great zeal in the foundation of this secret militia, which remained in the condition of a clandestine society in the Marches, in Umbria, and in the other Lower Provinces; but in the four Legations they assumed the name and uniform of Pontifical Volunteers. These Centurions and Volunteers obtained their recruits amidst the meanest and most criminal of the people. They had the privilege of carrying arms; were exempt from certain municipal taxes; and were influenced by fanaticism, not only political but likewise religious, because certain Bishops and Priests enrolled and instructed them. In some towns and castles they domineered with brutal ferocity; at Faenza particularly, where Sanfedism had of old struck deep root, they scoured the place, in arms to the teeth, like a horde of savages in a conquered country; the police was in their hands, so that they practised insolence and excess with impunity; the country people and servants resisted the authority of their masters, nor was there any mode of remedy, for those in power were either of the same fry, or else were afraid of the excesses of this dominant faction. It avenged the

wrongs of the Government, those of religion, those of the sect and of every member of it, and it lighted up in Romagna a very hell of frantic passions; I have only to add, that these Centurions were also political assassins. I have already told, and I sorrowfully repeat it, how the Liberal sects of Romagna had begun at an early date to imbrue their hands in the blood of their party opponents. The example was fatal: blood brought forth blood. The Carbonari, execrable deed! had treacherously shed it under the pretext of freedom and of patriotism: the Centurions were greedy of it for the honour of Mary and of the Vicar of Christ; a twofold and a threefold abomination. Oh! may it please the mercy of God, that all parties may imbibe the persuasion, that no enormity is necessary or advantageous to the cause of nations, of the masses, or of Governments. But it is time to have done with such like recollections, to which, while revolting from the task, it has been my duty to allude.

When not the rebels only, but also the friends of reform, had been worsted and crushed to atoms in the four Legations, it remained to bring Ancona to a state of submission, and completely to restore the Pontifical authority. And this was brought about after M. de Saint Aulaire had either become persuaded in truth of the good government of the Roman States, and the ill disposition of the people, or pretended this persuasion in order to relieve his own Government from the embarrassments of a contest with the Papal Court, and, in consequence,

ceased to urge the demand for reforms, and agreed that Monsignor Grassellini should, as Delegate, re-establish the seat of the provincial government in Ancona, and should carry back thither a Pontifical force, while the French were to remain as auxiliaries and to garrison the forts. The moveable column, which not only had disturbed order, but perpetrated crime, was disbanded; the refugees had to migrate into France; many arrests took place, and capital punishment was inflicted on two of the townsmen, detained as authors of the homicide of the Gonfaloniere. So ended the French occupation. I say so it ended, because, though it continued for several years, yet I shall have nothing more to say of it, except to refer to the departure of the battalions that were left in Ancona, for there is no trace of any act by which in the States of the Church the presence of the French could be distinguished from that of the Austrians. This, then, was the result of the revolution in 1831, and of the subsequent troubles, that for the time our "Gallomania" seemed to be well cured, and the old whim of reckoning upon French liberality brought within its proper bounds. But our Government grew more severe, and the condition of the people worse.

As the innovators had, by their rash or criminal acts, damaged their own party, and in this manner indirectly favoured the complete restoration of the old Government, so the restorers of it, in their turn, acted like madmen, and indirectly prepared the way for new commotions. Too true is it, in our times,

patriotism is with many no more than a cloak or a tinkling cymbal; yet still, amid the redundant dross, there is gold, which wise Governments ought to know how to detach. And when it happens that good men, and youths, who in general are not corrupt, allow themselves to follow rash counsels, because to men really loving their country, and having no experience of the reverses of life, everything appears smooth, then such Governments as have a care for their own character or stability should not confound with guilty passion that mysterious intoxication of mind which revolutions engender. Neither should they measure inexperienced, but generous and honourable, men by the standard of those who, being gnawed by a keen but ignoble ambition, and driven headlong by cupidity, misuse, to the public detriment and their own profit, the seasons of political convulsion. The Pontifical Government seemed to bind bad and good in the same bundle; they said, according to the parable in the Bible, that they wished to separate the chaff from the corn, but they trampled all without judgment or charity, and acted under that blind impulse which the weak always follow, thinking that they are acquiring strength when the fever of alarm is upon them. Every penalty which, either from its kind or its amount, passes the bounds of necessary defence for Government and society, and of the satisfaction that the offence against morality demands, not only becomes odious, but produces an effect the very reverse of that at which legislators aim. And punishments for political causes ought, as

a general rule, to be lenient for the greater part of offenders, and not to touch too many nor to be too much prolonged, otherwise they carry an appearance of excess, vindictiveness, and cruelty, and they sustain and quicken that spirit of rebellion which they are meant to exhaust and to extinguish. In reading history, I do not find that proscription and oppression have preserved States from civil faction, or Governments from ruin; but this I see, that party resentment sculks and nurses itself, that it may afterwards burst out; that persecution is the fuel of conspiracy, and that men tormented easily gain the palm of martyrdom from general opinion. This is always so, but more in our times and in this Western Europe, in which civilization does not permit effectual extermination, so that even the terrorists of Governments do but make a noise; they exasperate parties, but do not destroy them. Already numerous were the exiles of the Papal States, not few the prisoners for plots old and new, for revolts and for disturbances. Were not these enough? The Government had on its side French, Austrian, native troops, two Swiss regiments, the Volunteers, and the Centurions; and, further, it was set at ease both with respect to the pacific tendency of the policy of France, and because the spirit of its enemies was cowed by recent defeats and by egregious disappointments. It had, then, nothing to fear; yet it resolved to punish to excess, and to punish, perhaps, yet more, the mere aspirations of youth, than acts really seditious. It determined to close the

universities, and it gave licence to private persons, in the small towns and provincial cities, to teach the sciences; it inhibited youths, although minors, who in 1831 had borne arms, from completing their course of studies and taking degrees; it repelled many from the courts of law; against many more it closed every career of honour; and thus it cast the whole of a new generation into the Sects and their conspiracies. It dissolved the Municipal Councils nominated towards the end of 1831; it imprisoned and condemned those who had made efforts to resist their dissolution, and it turned the representative bodies into servile assemblages of needy, ignorant, and factious individuals. No person, who was in bad odour as a Liberal, (and in the estimation of the Sanfedists little was needed for the purpose,) could keep an office, whether under Government or Municipal, or could obtain one if he asked for it, or could represent either municipality or province. Thus they swelled excessively the numbers of those that were called the excluded, and that might well have been called, in a political phrase of the Florentine Republic, "the warned." Besides this, no more was thought of the reforms and institutions indicated in the Memorandum of 1831. The very laws relating to municipalities and provinces, insufficient and unacceptable as they were, were in practice incredibly perverted by circulars public and secret, and by thrusting Sanfedists and Centurions into every charge and office. The judicial department was not rectified according to promise, codes were not published, an ill-patched penal statute

was enacted, in which there were merciless punishments for the crimes which were called treasonable, or which might be so construed. There exists a confidential circular of Cardinal Bernetti, in which he orders the judges, in the case of Liberals charged with ordinary offences or crimes, invariably to inflict the highest degree of punishment. The judges seconded all this from passion, if they were of the colour of the sect, or else from fear, or from venality. The police was all faction in some places, and an agent of police caused more alarm among the inhabitants than a highwayman; those bullies, uniting with the Centurions, would pluck out the very beard or moustache of the citizens, they would not let the Liberals indulge in shooting or any amusement, they refused them passports, pried into their families, and used force against their domiciles and persons, with incessant and minute searches. Meanwhile, the administration of the public revenue remained, as of old, without method and without audit; ruinous loans were contracted; ruinous leases of public revenues were given; trade, instruction, and industry, suffered not only neglect, but discouragement and deterioration.

Hereafter I will give an account of the administrative and judicial system of the Pontifical State, and of the condition in which this was found at the death of Gregory XVI. For the present, the brief notices I have supplied may suffice to enable my readers to comprehend the nature of what was called a Government of restoration, in which work all the chiefs and adepts of Sanfedism laboured so hard, with the aid of

such Potentates as professed themselves friendly. It was palpable that the Roman Court, far from setting out upon a course of progressive improvements, and from looking forward to the future, looked only back upon the past with keen longings, and made incessant war upon Liberal opinions and the spirit of nationality, not only in Italy, but beyond it. For, if not hostile to the Poles, it certainly was not their friend; to Dom Miguel in Portugal, to Don Carlos in Spain, it was most friendly, and liberal both of advice and money; it was everywhere averse to such institutions as temper monarchy. Miserable were those first years of the reign of Gregory, and not only infested by revolts, intestine feuds, and the bitterness of faction, but likewise by the casualties of nature. In the summer of 1832, violent storms, and hail such as never had been seen within the memory of man, tore up the trees, destroyed the crops, and desolated the fields in some districts of Romagna; in that and the following years, there were earthquakes in various places. At Foligno many houses came down, many more were cracked, and the people were seized with terror. It was the chastisement of God, as all said; but each party laid the blame upon the offences of the other, and men's minds did not settle down to concord. The Government continued its malversations and repressions, Sanfedism its bullying tone; the Liberals champed the bit, and set to work with fresh conspiracies.

CHAP. VI.

MAZZINI. — THE GIOVINE ITALIA. — THE SAVOY EXPEDITION. — DIFFERENCES IN THE LIBERAL PARTY. — PARTISANS OF AUSTRIA. — CASTAGNOLI. — CANOSA AT PESARO. — THE DUKE OF MODENA.

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI, a young Genoese, had in 1831 put forth a publication, dedicated to Charles Albert, the new King of Piedmont, and urging him to undertake the liberation of Italy from the stranger. Afterwards, having acquired a sort of municipal reputation, and being suspected of plotting, he was obliged to go into exile. Up to that time the refugees from Italy had been accustomed to keep up their communications with one another and with their friends at home, but rather with a view of standing in readiness to avail themselves of opportunities for change, than with any plan of prompting or of directing actual measures. Mazzini conceived the idea of framing plots for Italy, and of placing their centre, abroad. The refugees were to be the soul of them, and not merely auxiliaries; he himself was to be their head. This was a recurrence to the times and customs of the middle ages, when, as often as citizens were banished by their opponents, who had gained the ascendancy, from those turbulent republics, they used to apply themselves in exile to raise money and troops in rival cities, or in intriguing courts, and then attempted the conquest

of their country by stirring up the factions at home. To speak the truth, in reading those histories, I do not find that the enterprises of refugees have often been successful. I see, rather, how commonly they failed, and worsened their own condition, as well as that of their friends, and of their native place. But if this was the case at a time when States did not derive stability from disciplined bodies of their own troops, and when soldiers of fortune sold their courage and their strength to such as promised and paid the best,—when the cities were so restless that they had scarcely a single inhabitant that was not a partisan, and when almost every town subsisted and was administered, not under the band of secure alliances to its neighbours, but upon ill terms with them, torn by jealousies, resentments, and Guelph or Ghibelline intrigues, — if such, I say, was the case in those times, how could it be hoped in ours, with standing armies at the command of governments, with their secure alliances, and with so much indifference among the people, that a few Italians who had gone abroad should organize, prompt, and carry to successful issue, any enterprise for the freedom of the nation? But these, and other like considerations did not restrain Giuseppe Mazzini from founding a new clandestine Association, which was intended, not only to absorb and to recast the sects formerly existing, but to extend them, bind them to one another at home, and to himself as their head abroad. To this new sect he gave the name of *Giovine Italia*, as if in token of a new creed and new objects; and he designedly shut out of it every man that

was more than forty years old, to show that he based his calculations on the buoyant enthusiasm of youth, and not on judgment and experience. He enjoined obedience, and surrender of will and of strength, on the part of every member, to the orders of their chiefs; he arranged that all should have arms, ammunition, and military training. This *Giovine Italia* was a mixture of Germanism and of Christianity, of romanism and mysticism, through which the old and purely political Sects were transmuted into an association, in part political, in part social, and in part religious. The Carbonari, it is true, were for the most part either indifferentists or followers of Voltaire, but that old sect bore more enmity to the priests, than to the religion of our fathers; the new one had a positive religious faith, not avowed, it is true, or determined, but in substance heretical with reference to the Roman Catholic creed. And as in philosophy and in religion, so likewise it was positive in politics, whether with respect to an organization for the nation, or to the form of government, or to its social institutions; choosing as its idol Unity for the first, a Republic for the second, and pure Democracy for the third.

The emigrants and exiles of 1831 and 1832, who were possessed of the qualities that Mazzini wanted, namely, youth, enthusiasm, and daring, enrolled themselves in the *Giovine Italia;* and those who, belonging to the Pontifical States, obtained leave to come home, became propagators of the institution, and found abundant materials for proselytism in the pro-

vince of Romagna, where the sectarian temper and customs were inveterate, and where the operations of the Sanfedist faction had provoked a vindictive spirit. The refugees gave to the conspirators at home hopes of speedy deliverance; nor did they simply propose to change the government from being absolute and narrow to one constitutional and large, or to effect alterations in a single Italian Province, but rather to conquer the entire country and govern it according to the creed of the *Giovine Italia*, that is to say, as a republic, democratical, one and indivisible. War then was to be waged upon all the Governments and upon all the Princes of Italy; war upon the very idea of a Prince or of a Monarch; war upon the Austrians; war upon Europe, the guardian and avenger of treaties. *Giovine Italia* begged the *obolus* out of the lean purses of the refugees — such were its revenues; it enlisted on foreign soil, with an oath of life and death, Italian exiles and young Poles, fearless for their lives, and forward to expose themselves to conflict — such were its armies; it conspired with the republicans of France — such were its allies; it dispatched conspirators and agitators into Italy — such were its Ambassadors and Diplomatists. And as if its movements to and fro, its levies of money, its purchases of arms, and its other numerous indications, any single one of which is more than enough in the eyes of a modern police, did not suffice to give an inkling of its machinations, this *Giovine Italia* printed a Journal, in which the principles and aims of the association were frankly declared.

At the beginning of 1834, Mazzini considered that he was in a condition to give effect to his designs; and he aimed at no less than to attempt the conquest of Italy from the Alps downwards. But why do I say from the Alps? — it was from beyond the Alps, from Savoy, whose union with an Italian Province is based only upon treaty, and upon its ancient devotion to its Dukes, now become the Sub-Alpine Kings. If any distinct idea governed that enterprise, it was perhaps the neighbourhood of Switzerland and of France; possibly, also, the Genoese resentments of its head. History would not stoop to revive the memory of the rash expedition into Savoy under Mazzini's auspices, were it not that the examples of human folly are lessons useful to remark and to place on record. Mazzini, then, had collected some small store of arms and ammunition in the Cantons of Vaud and Geneva, and had gathered in Switzerland about a thousand refugees, between Italian, German, and Polish. At Geneva preparations were made for a revolution, of which their entry into the Canton was to be the token and commencement; but the authorities got information of it, and took the necessary measures for preventing insurrection within, and for baffling the enterprise of the *Giovine Italia*. But, notwithstanding, Mazzini's forces, commanded by General Ramorino, known for the part he had taken during 1831 in the insurrection and war of Poland, moved, on the 2nd of February, 1834, upon Annecy, where they took possession of a post of the Piedmontese Custom-house. On being apprised, however, of the approach

of a body of horse, they retreated upon the town, and dispersed a troop of Carabineers and some Custom-house officers, who were placed in defence of the bridge over the Arve. Here they hoisted the tricolor flag, and invited the people to rise; but the people did not stir, and the Mazzinians, wearied and reduced in numbers, after three or four hours, set out in the direction of Thonon. Before night, they were straggling about, in a state of utter dispersion, with the King's troops behind them, and pressing them from every quarter. On the same day about a hundred men, almost all of them Savoyards, moved from Grenoble upon Echelles, shouting, "Long live the *Giovine Italia!*" They made prisoners of the Carabineers who defended the Custom-house, and intended to march forward against Chambéry, when a company of Piedmontese soldiers assaulted them by night, put them to flight, and drove them back into the French territory. The enterprise was never more than smoke, and in smoke it ended. The leaders cast the blame upon one another. Ramorino, it was said, had postponed his arrival in Switzerland, and had embezzled the money of the sect. Mazzini had lost his head at the critical moment; each accused the other. There was abuse, upbraiding, calumny in abundance, gross scandal, and discredit. In the centre of Italy all this was scarcely heard of, or they learned only so much as was reported in the Government Journals, and as sufficed to stir the contempt and wrath of the Governments, that hated this republican sect more than any other, to discourage its adherents, and to draw down

dishonour upon its leaders. From this cause it happened that, after the attempt in Savoy, and the consequent rigours of the Governments, the association gained no further ground within the States of the Church; but this likewise happened, that it altered the principles of Liberalism, and that a portion of the youth learned its spirit and its formulas, and adopted its creed without enlisting in the sect. Again, Carbonarism ceased to be propagated in the Northern Provinces; the spirit still was there, but the sect was insignificant in numbers. In requital, however, both the one and the other sect grew in the Marches and the Lower Provinces; but although they were akin, and plotted for the same purpose, they were, in fact, ill affected to one another, if they were not in open rupture. In this manner the Liberal party came to be divided in the States of the Church; those of them who belonged to sects were few, and broken down into societies resembling the old school or the new. The greater part were not sectarians at all, but they sympathised more or less with the one or the other, whence arose many trumpery and idle contests in the towns, divisions and feuds between Republicans and Constitutionalists, and between the older sects and the later, the parties, and the party names, of hot and cold,—some were doctrinaires, some revolutionists, and other such trash and scandal. These were, among us, the earliest and bitter fruits of the *Giovine Italia*.

This apparatus of liberal sects supplied abundant material for civic faction and intestine troubles. So likewise did Sanfedism, as I have already shown by

examples. But this was not enough; for one Baratelli, a Ferrarese, and an Austrian commissioner, endeavoured also to bring into Romagna the contamination of an Austrian sect. It cannot be doubted that Austria had, from a remote date, desired to extend her sway into the four Pontifical Legations, that she had studied the means of acquiring them in 1815, and still cherished the hope of satisfying that appetite on some other occasion. Perhaps she thought that the events of 1831 and 1832, the errors of the Pontifical Government, and the increased hatred of its subjects towards it, supplied her with one. Accordingly, she either got up, or let others get up, a faction in her name; she behaved caressingly to the Liberals, with spite and antipathy to the Centurions, while she dealt with Cardinal Bernetti as an enemy outright. Her official servants murmured against clerical government, and drew comparisons to its extreme disadvantage with the Government of Lombardy. The Court of Rome took umbrage, and expelled Baratelli. Bernetti was not long retained in the office of Secretary of State, but the policy did not change when he quitted it. But who were the partisans of Austria in the Legations? No explicit answer can be given, for there never was, and there never will be, a genuine Austrian party among that population, who mislike all strangers, but detest the Austrians. Perhaps there might be one or two nobles, whose vanity or pride had been mortified at Rome, where the cord of St. Francis, or the hat of St. Ignatius, are the most

revered and favoured blazonry; perhaps some few ex-functionaries, not duly courted by the priests, or lovers of strong and orderly governments; some relics of the Brigand force, raised by the Austrians in 1800 and in 1813 and 1814, or some bad characters that were fishing for fortune and honours,—these might be partisans of Austria, but none else. People may think it was easy to create such a party, from knowing how great, how severe, were the criticisms upon clerical government; indeed, they were so severe, that the cry might be heard, "The Turks would be better!" but if any one grounded either opinions or acts upon these *data*, he fell into a trap. Baratelli failed first, and after him a poetaster named Castagnoli, who, wishing to propagate a sect called *Ferdinandian*, from the name of the Emperor, falsified both the denomination and scope of his undertaking, ensnared some silly persons with mere Carbonarism, and was detected and punished. Francis IV., too, Duke of Modena, had his agents and his spies in Romagna; I know not whether on his own account, or for behoof of Austria, nor whether for profit or amusement. It would seem he was trying to change the character of Sanfedism. The heads of the order often met at Modena in secret divan; the Centurions looked up to him as a protector; a newspaper was printed in Modena, "*La Voce della Verità*," which was the idol of the sect. Furthermore, such a man as Canosa, formerly chief and founder of the Calderari*, notorious both for old infamies at Naples

* A sect resembling the Sanfedists; formed in support of the Government.—Tr.

and new ones at Modena, had established himself at Pesaro, and was indefatigable in labours worthy of his name — in forming sects, in libels, intrigues, and crimes. I leave my readers to imagine what must needs have been the result of such a multitude of factions, sects, and plots — how great the perversion of the moral sense of the population, and the decay of authority in the Government.

CHAP. VII.

CARDINAL LAMBRUSCHINI. — CARDINAL GAMBERINI. — CARDINAL MATTEI. — THE CHOLERA MORBUS. — DEPARTURE OF THE AUSTRIANS AND THE FRENCH. — THE SWISS REGIMENTS. — THE CARDINAL LEGATES. — COVERT AGITATION IN 1840. — THE POPE'S TOUR IN THE MARCHES. — PLOT OF 1843. — POLITICAL MOVEMENTS. — MILITARY COMMISSIONS. — SENTENCES. — ESTATES OF THE APPANAGE.

By the influence and exertions of the Court of Vienna, which was hostile to Cardinal Bernetti, Cardinal Lambruschini, a Genoese, formerly a Friar, and General of the Barnabites, afterwards Archbishop of Genoa, and Nuncio at Paris, was named Secretary of State. He was a man of irreproachable life, and of more than common ecclesiastical learning, who had all the qualities and habits of the cloister, except humility and gentleness. Second to none in jealousy for the privileges of Rome and of the clerical caste, he zealously encouraged both the spirit and the men of the Church and the convent. Imperious and proud, he sought to bear sole sway in the Court and in the Government. Himself a Genoese, he gave a large share in the administration of the one and the other to Genoese cardinals and prelates, whom he promoted and favoured with constant and partial solicitude. Gregory XVI. had divided the Secretaryship of State into two departments, one for foreign and the other for home affairs; but the first had always retained the supreme direction both of domestic and of foreign politics, and the second had rather an administrative

than a political character. But at this time, the Secretary of State for the Interior was Cardinal Gamberini of Imola, an able lawyer, who, after long practice in the business of the Courts, and in public and private affairs, during the sway of the French, had, in advanced life, taken to the ecclesiastical career, as being that which alone could open to him, under the Papal Government, the road to high honours and to wealth, which he keenly sought and longed for. Nor could this astute person, with the spirit of a layman, and with a strong will, be agreeable to such a man as Lambruschini, who could not endure rivals or equals in authority, or impediments to his inclinations or his plans; from whence it came that after a time the Pope dismissed Gamberini, professedly on grounds of regard for his age, and that Cardinal Mattei was nominated Secretary of State for the Interior; a man of small account in everything, except in the art of dissembling and in servility. Thus Cardinal Lambruschini had not any longer even the shadow of rivalry or of opposition. Mattei was, and continued through the whole reign, a Minister of Gregory, but not of the State, although the instrument of some trivial intrigues and favours; the author of a little evil, of no good whatever.

I do not enter into particulars of the administration of Lambruschini, because, in this Book, my narrative proceeds in general terms, with a view of giving information about the causes which laid the ground for the events to be described in the sequel, and a summary is not the place for minute parti-

culars. Moreover, both from the notices that I am now giving about the more material facts, and from those I shall presently give in reference to the condition, the systems, laws, and opinions of the Pontifical States at the death of Gregory XVI., the character both of the Government and of the governed will be sufficiently clear. I shall not, therefore, enlarge my story by describing the accesses of the cholera morbus, which in the years 1833 and 1837 furiously attacked Ancona and Rome. I will only mention, as is due to truth, that the Government evinced great kindness and great anxiety in mitigating the severity of the scourge. Our populace, like others, had the ordinary vulgar fancies and prejudices. Among the physicians, a persuasion prevailed, that the disease was contagious; hence we had *cordons*, quarantines, separations; the mortality was great at Ancona and at Rome, and such was the alarm of the inhabitants that for some time nothing else was thought or spoken of, so that political faction itself became less bitter and ferocious.

In 1838, during the administration of Molé, the French abandoned Ancona, at the time when the Austrians withdrew from the Legations. While their respective occupations continued, the townspeople did not contract any familiarity with them; and, after the events of Ancona, they bore a grudge still more perhaps against the former than the latter. The weaker sex emulated the strong one in its sternness; one or more women of family, who married strangers, were pointed at; and a few others who granted them

the favours of love, or gave suspicion of it, were lost in the general opinion. When the Austrians were taking their departure from Romagna, the people, which had gathered for the sight, was full of smiles and rejoicing; the blackguards gave the usual tokens of their contempt; the towns exulted. There still remained the Swiss regiments, a fine and well-disciplined force; even these, too, were unpopular, both as strangers, and because they were reputed to feel strongly against the Liberals, being persons, most of whom had been in the service of France, and had fought bravely in the days of July. Among them there were not a few who were Protestants in religion; and this gave rise to a remark, that the Pope took into his pay even heretics, to bridle his subjects. The Swiss were supplied with handsome clothing and arms, and excellent accoutrements, while they received higher pay than the native troops, — a circumstance which caused envy, jealousy, and discontent. The general commission of government at Bologna, for the Legations, expired. The Cardinals Albani, Spinola, and Brignole respectively, had left there a character for severity; and Macchi, who, however, remained there in the quality of Legate, one for gentleness. When the prelates had been recalled, who, under the Commission, had governed the provinces included within it, (almost all of them, and most of all Vannicelli, with ill-desert,) the Roman Government sent as legates, Cardinal Ugolini to Ferrara, Amat to Ravenna, and Grimaldi to Forlì; of the two last of these the memory is still beloved, because they

tempered the rigours of the police, abashed the insolence of Sanfedism, and of the Centurions and Volunteers, studied all honourable means of promoting concord among the inhabitants, and if they did not succeed in gaining friends for the Government, certainly gained them for themselves, and rendered authority less odious.

I pass over the events less worthy of record, and I resume the unpleasing task of relating miseries and misfortunes.

In the autumn of the years 1839 and 1840, the rain fell so violently that the streams and rivers of Romagna overflowed, and burst their embankments, inundating plains, towns, and cities, and causing heavy losses. For the last year or two the Liberals of the Pontifical States had relaxed their zeal in plotting; but on the other hand, in Sicily, in the Abruzzi, and in the Calabrias, there were attempts made at insurrection, and movements, which the Neapolitan Government put down by the employment of force, and by abusing its easy success. Accounts of Neapolitan and Sicilian affairs came as late and as scantily, as if they had taken place in some remote country, and when news did arrive, it was always magnified by rumour. In 1840, the report was, that the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was a volcano of passions ready for eruption; the peace of Europe seemed to be in peril, on account of the question of the East; hence the minds of men were elated with expectation, and the hope of changes; hence a rage for debating, gathering into knots, and plotting. The Government, whether because it was

indifferent, or was not informed, used no severities; rather, indeed, it put on an aspect of security without precedent. That year passed, and another after it, and the conspiracy continued, but was confined to few persons; and the Government not only did not change its conduct, but was so confident, that a journey of the aged Pope through the Provinces was determined on. In the first instance, they talked of it for a long time, and many comments were made, with many and different prognostications; no one knew, or could comprehend, what was meant; every one set to work to divine it, but still it remained neither known nor comprehended. I have little to say on the subject; journey was made by the Pope with his Court, and with Cardinal Mattei, Secretary of State for the Interior; everywhere there were the usual rejoicings and illuminations; plenty of ovations, flattery in prose and verse; and lastly, the expenditure, which is common when princes travel. The Pope, in good spirits, proceeded by short daily journies. He made some stay in Ancona, where the festivities were more costly than ordinary; he received deputations and invitations from the Northern Provinces, and then returned to Rome, without a single important act done, whether as Prince or as Pontiff. It was a party of pleasure, and of it, as such, I have no more to say.

But I have to say, that while the Pope was thus abroad for his amusement, travelling through the Lower Provinces, and while that squanderer (through fondness, as it was said, of hydraulic works,) of the public money, Cardinal Tosti, the Treasurer, was

touring in the Upper ones, the emissaries of the *Giovine Italia* were likewise travelling and touring through them all. These brought the news that Naples and Sicily would shortly rise, and they hastened preparations for revolt. To tell the truth, they got little credit, especially in Romagna, which on former occasions had suffered too great inflictions on account of plots. Little faith was placed in the exiles, and in Mazzini none, both because his doctrines were unacceptable to the greater part, and because the recollection of the expedition into Savoy had put an end to the disposition to commit blunders at his good pleasure and suggestion. However, as the incentives waxed stronger, and the advices of an approaching revolution at Naples were multiplied, a person was dispatched from Bologna into that kingdom, to find out the true state of affairs. He went at the end of spring, and returned in July of the same year, 1843; and whether he were a deceiver or deceived (either of them probable, for he was a man not only simple, but even sottish), he reported, that the information was correct, the rising imminent, the very day determined; and this he fixed on the last, or last but one, of the month. He added, there would be aids in money and in experienced commanders. In Rome the conspirators were few, and they were not numerous in the surrounding Provinces and in Umbria. In the Marches and in Romagna they were so; the men of the greatest credit engaged to take a part, but only supposing that the Revolution should be triumphant in the Kingdom of Naples, and that those succours which had been

spoken of should arrive. In Bologna, however, there existed a small band of the sectaries of Mazzini, who would not conform to the plans of the rest, but followed the orders they received from Malta and from London. These were impatient of delay, and determined to cut it short. They pretended to be in concurrence with the larger party, and to be preparing to follow up the Neapolitan movement: but in reality their intention was, if that should be postponed or fail, to rise at all hazards; and they hoped to drag with them the hesitating and uncertain, by entailing upon them all the suspicions and persecutions of the Government. For the sect of Mazzini, which incessantly rails at diplomatic finesse, has itself, too, its own artifices, its own political tricks; and this is one of them,—to exasperate the tempers of men, and communicate to them the impulse which desperation and the fear of punishment impart; in their phrase, to compromise as many as possible, and then "once done is well done." But in our times there are few who are disposed to play desperate games; and the satellites of Mazzini, aware of this, threw themselves into the midst of a class habituated to faction, and made common cause with assassins, smugglers, and other yet more depraved sorts of men, who abound in Bologna, and who, feeling themselves exalted and honoured by this political partnership, under the cloak of which many atrocities might lurk, stood in readiness to take up arms at the moment when the leaders might command it. The month of July reached its close. There were at first no news from

Naples, then certain news that there was no movement. The Government, that till that time had shown no sign of being acquainted with the machinations, awoke, and proved its knowledge of them. A few Romagnols, who had fallen under suspicion, had to betake themselves abroad for safety. Cardinal Spinola, who was Legate at Bologna, did not exhibit the prudence and moderation of the other Legates, and especially of Cardinal Amat, in the Province of Ravenna. It was owing to him that a number of persons were apprehensive of being taken up, and, in consequence, either hid themselves or went forth into the country. These a physician, named Muratori, an honourable and gallant youth, got together for their own and one another's defence; and he sought to try his hand at that description of war in detail which is called *Guerrilla*, — a kind of proceeding warmly recommended by the *Giovine Italia*. He had an encounter with a body of Papal Carabineers; he broke it, and made a prisoner of the Chief, whom his men subsequently shot in a barbarous manner. Swiss, Carabineers, and the Revenue force, now gathered to put down Muratori's band; but he, with abundance of daring and skill, slipped through their hands, and, passing from one mountain to another, contrived to cross the Apennines with a part of his men, and then, having traversed Tuscany, betook himself to France. Spinola set a price upon the capture, or the head, not only of Muratori and of the rest who had taken arms, but of their accomplices, actual or supposed, some of whom were residing

quietly in their own houses, and were youths of most noble origin, such as Tanara, Mellara, and Zambeccari. At this juncture there arrived with a little money some Italian officers, summoned into Italy from Spain: a certain Ribotti headed those men, who were excited by sectarian enthusiasm, and pressed by a sense of danger. He conducted about two hundred out of Bologna by night; he armed them as he best could; he surprised and disarmed the feeble garrisons that he found along the *Via Emilia*, and marched them towards Imola, where he had agents and a correspondence; and he had very nearly got into his hands these Cardinals, Amat the Legate, Falconieri, Archbishop of Ravenna, and Mastai, Bishop of Imola, who were staying at a villa not far from the city. Being, however, warned, they had time to gain it in safety, and to make arrangements for defence: the gates were closed, the Papal troops manned the walls. Ribotti's men then disbanded: some were taken the same day, and others shortly after; others again got across the Apennines. Ribotti prosecuted his journey in Romagna, exhorted his friends, promised new attempts and tried them too, went to Ancona, then hither and thither for a certain time, always busy with plots; and the Government, frightened out of its wits, with the Police, the Sanfedists, and the Volunteers, did not know and could not find out where he was; so small is the power and efficacy of a Government, that does not draw strength and aid from the good will of the public. A Military Commission,

instituted in Bologna, condemned many persons to the galleys, others to death: of these some were pardoned, seven were shot in Bologna. The herds of spies made havoc in the public funds, pretending that they saved the State; the Sanfedists crowed; and Freddi, head of the Commission, received authority to pry and to tease people at his own discretion; while Cardinal Vannicelli was sent to Bologna instead of Spinola, and Cardinal Massimo to Ravenna instead of Amat.

In those years, 1843 and 1844, whispers had been circulated that Beauharnais the younger gave countenance to the feelings and movements of Romagna, and that the Liberals desired to make him Prince of Central Italy. It is difficult to know how this rumour went abroad, for it had no real foundation; yet it is the fact, both that many believed it, and hence entertained exaggerated hopes and fears, and that the Papal Government itself stood in some doubt. And this formidable shadow of a supposed Monarchical Pretender filled the imagination even of the Republican aspirant Mazzini, who, both by himself and through those he trusted, fought against this bugbear, in speech and writing. I have already had occasion to notice in these pages, that Beauharnais had a rich inheritance in the States of the Church, and that Leo XII. had sought to adopt measures for acquiring it. I am not able to assert, that the rumours just mentioned were the cause of the plan formed at Rome to make the acquisition; but it is allowable to suppose it, inasmuch as the Pontifical finances were

not in a state to permit any considerable purchase. At any rate, in spite of the heavy public debt, and of the excess of the annual expenditure over the revenue, it was decided at Rome to buy from Beauharnais all the so-called estates of the appanage; and the Government bought them accordingly, creating a new debt for the purpose.

CHAP. VIII.

POLITICAL SYSTEM OPPOSED TO THAT OF THE GIOVINE ITALIA. — WORKS OF GIOBERTI AND BALBO. — PIEDMONT. — KING CHARLES ALBERT.

All those whose understanding was not darkened by their passions, however enamoured they might be of freedom and independence, became now every day more persuaded that conspiracies, sects, partial and superficial risings, were not only ineffectual and impotent, but mischievous; inasmuch as they exasperated the Government, gave credit and almost warrant to despotism, worsened the economical condition of the State, and indirectly thwarted the spontaneous progress of civilization. Even among the proscribed Italians, those, who had ever so little sense or any eminent reputation, condemned the whims and the rash undertakings of Mazzini. Terenzio Mamiani, not to mention others, had by his words, his language, and his example, constantly recommended his fellow-citizens not to let themselves be entangled in that sect of charlatans; and through the press he advised the Liberals to desist from their useless, nay harmful, efforts, and to study pacific modes of gradually improving the condition of their common country. The most distinguished among the victims of Austria, the venerable Silvio Pellico, had by his book, *Le mie Prigioni*,

awakened in the minds of men that Christian temper which moderates all the violence of passion; and by putting forth with extraordinary simplicity of style the cruel perfidies of the Emperor, he had indirectly brought into bold relief that excess of Austrian influence, which was the true cause of the servitude and wretchedness of the States of Italy and of their inhabitants. A Piedmontese exile of singular genius, a lofty philosopher, a very prodigy for grandeur of language, published a work on the civil and moral Primacy* of the Italians. Cesare Balbo, who in his youth had been engaged both in political and military affairs, had been driven into exile after 1821, and afterwards, being still confined to a particular place, had constantly lived in retirement. He had the reputation of an accomplished man of letters; and he now put forth his book on "The Hopes of Italy." At other times, too, good and useful advice had been given to the Italian Princes and people. The distinguished Luigi Angeloni, in 1814, had proposed a federation among the various States of Italy, to combine them all in such a manner, that no foreign power might have any superiority or dominion within them. Now Gioberti and Balbo, both of them Turinese, one in exile, and the other at home, almost simultaneously formed the same views on the main heads of Italian politics, declared and developed them, and exerted themselves to give a new direction to the ideas and minds of all such as loved liberty and independence. The leading idea of

* Il Primato civile e morale degli Italiani, per Vincenzo Gioberti.

the book of Balbo was that of independence; while Gioberti chiefly affected and recommended all practicable modes of conciliation, and thorough concord of the people with their Princes. He taught, that Sects and partial insurrections would not forward, but retard and obstruct, the recovery of Italy; that the Catholic Religion was not opposed to any honourable plans for freedom, but blessed and sanctified them; that the Italians should revere and jealously preserve it as their chief, their sole, their inexhaustible treasure, amidst the great miseries of their country; that her fortunes ought to be restored, but by honourable and virtuous means; that the sanctity of the end does not justify measures in themselves unrighteous; that the concord of the various classes with one another was indispensable, and also the concord of the Princes with their subjects. All this would be gained, if the Liberals would give up their fruitless plots, their irreverence towards the Church, their assaults upon Royalty; and if the Princes would reform their civil and political systems and laws, as the times and the judgments of the wise required. When the Princes should thus be at one with their people,—the former re-assured in respect to public order, and encouraged by the popular grtitude, and the latter contented with a rational freedom,—a league might be established as the bulwark of our independence; with the Roman Pontiff for its President, according to Gioberti's judgment,—with the Subalpine king for its shield and champion, according to the view of Balbo. Such is a general outline of their leading opinions.

There was in all noble minds a love of liberty and independence, but in many of them the understanding was in conflict with the heart, and repressed its generous impulses; proving how hard and arduous an enterprise it is to restore the fortunes, and accomplish the destinies, of our oppressed and divided country; how scanty and ineffectual the means that were employed; and how destitute of foundation the over-sanguine ideas of the sects. There was grievous discouragement; and from discouragement to that worst fault, indifference, is but a step. There remained, it is true, in many, the aspiration towards good, but it was dissociated from any well-defined notions or plans. Few were those who at this time relied upon the plots; and if, notwithstanding, they took part in them, they did it more from desperation and habit, than from hope or free choice. Those initiated in the *Giovine Italia* followed, with or against the grain, the paths marked out by their chiefs. In the Pontifical States, party resentment eclipsed reason to such a degree, that some, (it is a fact,) preferred exile or a gaol to remaining inactive; some few persons there were throughout the country, and at all times, that would have exposed themselves to a contest against whatever odds, in order to struggle for the attainment of liberty. But, in a word, there was wanting, if I may so express myself, a political conscience,—a faith on which enlightened minds and well-disposed hearts might rely,—a system that would define what was possible, and declare what was probable, in respect both to means and ends, and would

form a training both for the understanding and the feelings. The books, of which I am speaking, had this effect upon all the men of a certain grade in age, judgment, knowledge, and character, being in the main those by whose influence public opinion is shaped. It appeared a great gain, and a great comfort, to have it proved that men might be liberal without being irreligious; might love their country, and labour for its good, without offending the eternal principles of justice, and without being surrounded by continual dangers; that they might believe in good without producing evil, believe in the resurrection of Italy without renouncing their Reason, and take this for their guide instead of chance. But the *Giovine Italia* began to bristle up, and censured these famous works, with their no less famous authors. The sects, too, remained, but the sectarian temper was everywhere softened; the reformers soon became more numerous than the revolutionists: an attainable end had been pointed out, and all eyes that could see regarded it with eagerness: their means, their advances, their order of proceeding, were elucidated; and thus materials and an aim were supplied for the diligence of the well-disposed.

Italy was, in truth, divided, and almost minced, into too many States, some of them small, some of them excessively small. But not to say that, through unforeseen events, she might be able thereafter to improve her position, even in the meantime the idea of an Union, or League, was not beyond practicability nor contrary to treaties, and the unity of the nation

in this, as in other cases, might have coexisted with a diversity of States. Austria was in possession of the Lombardo-Venetian territories, oppressed their inhabitants, and domineered over the rest of Italy; but if the proposed League could have taken effect, she would have been strong enough to relieve herself from that dependence, and, whenever Heaven might send the occasion, to drive the stranger off her sacred soil. The King of Naples governed ill; his nature, true to the stock of the Spanish Bourbons, was unamiable, perhaps incorrigible; but amidst the abundant evil that he allowed, this good at any rate he did, —that he improved in numbers and in discipline his forces by land and sea. This is at all times one of the greatest benefits that a sovereign can confer on Italy, since these may be, nay, they will be one day or another, the means of procuring national independence.

The Government of Gregory XVI. was, by general consent, abominable: but the Pope was old; all the European Powers had recognised the necessity of reform; and hence it might be hoped, with some reason, that a new Pope would have a new system, and introduce changes for the better.

Tuscany, from the time of Leopold I., had supplied an example of a Government anxious for civilization, and for agreement between Prince and people; and Leopold II. was a Prince virtuous, humane, and friendly to everything good. The petty Dukes were of no importance, either personally, or on account of their territories. On the throne of Piedmont sat Charles Albert, of that brave and honoured race of

Savoy, which had become, and still continued, the only Italian race regnant in Italy. King Charles Albert, indeed, owing to the general condition of Italy and Europe, and to that of his own country in particular, had given no recent sign of the liberal sentiments which he had evinced when young. He had, however, constantly employed himself in the work of improvement; he had introduced into the State civilizing institutions, codes of law, provincial councils, establishments of education; he had given it the advantage of an agricultural association, had enriched the treasury, and increased the army and the fleet; and it appeared probable, that as he went on gradually confirming himself upon the throne, which he had mounted with no good will from Austria, he would proceed with more frankness and less hesitation, as among his latest acts had been his favourable reception of the excellent works of Balbo and Gioberti, which he had allowed to enter his dominions, and to pass into circulation.

In a word, even when we descend to considerations the most immediately practical, looking to what is simply feasible in all its aspects, and reckoning upon probabilities without any over-sanguine hope, a judgment might now be formed that the doctrines of the new school were more true and more available, certainly less hazardous, than those of the *Giovine Italia* or of the other sects.

CHAP. IX.

PLOTS OF 1844. — PARTESOTTI. — RISING AT COSENZA. — THE BROTHERS BANDIERA. — MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO. — CARDINAL MASSIMO. THE MILITARY COMMISSIONS. — MOVEMENT AT RIMINI IN 1845. — CONSEQUENCES.

BUT the impulse which had been given to the movement of the sects was not checked either by misfortunes, or by disappointment, or by the books or counsels of earnest men. The conspiracy not only continued, but gained fresh heat in some parts of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and of the Roman States. Mazzini from London, and other exiles from Malta and Paris, kept the flame of it alive by means of emissaries, who held out hopes of assistance in men, arms, and money. The Italian Governments, on their part, did not stand with folded hands; and, aware of these plots, they not only watched one by one, but they united and put in common stock, for the common defence, all the means of watching and inquiry which they separately possessed. And because, in the actual condition of the commerce, industry, and economy of Europe, any ever so partial disturbance of order and tranquillity in one State or nation disturbs the exchanges and affects the public credit of them all, so it happened then, as it always will, and so much the more, in the regular order of things, as the ties of reciprocal good offices gain strength, that even foreign Governments aided those of

Italy in their precautions. Austria is the mistress in all such arts; in Austria the police is all in all, nor is she nice in the choice of means, provided she can know and detect what may avail to satisfy her prying curiosity and relieve her fears. She, for whom every spark of liberty in an Italian State may light up a conflagration within her conquered provinces, did not leave any means untried for detecting these machinations. In truth, it was no difficult matter; partly because plots are, of necessity, in these times so extensive, that it is not possible they should proceed unobserved; partly because the *Giovine Italia* has so much and such youthful inexperience, that it admits every knave, and lets itself be taken in by the police in a manner the most surprising. In fact, in that very winter of 1833 and 1834, when they were hardest at work, one Partesotti, a refugee, who had got into their secrets, a most wretched creature, sold them to Austria for a miserable monthly dole, and wrote to the police of Milan what was true, false, and doubtful, all alike: he invented, as such scoundrels are wont, when he had nothing to relate; he accused such conspirators as he knew, and played at guessing at such as he did not. This became known, because, after Partesotti's death, some of his brother exiles, who had rendered to him all the offices of charity in life, and of respect after death, read in his papers this atrocious treachery. But certainly he was not alone in the work; because, very soon afterwards, the Governments, and especially Austria, had information to a marvel. France itself made searches

in the service of its Italian allies; the Prefect of Police at Paris summoned before him the most conspicuous of the Italian exiles, and warned them not to take part in such intrigues; even the English Ministry caused the letters of Mazzini to be opened. Now, what were the preparations, and what the strength, of the conspirators?

In the Pontifical States, every town, from Rome to Bologna, had a body of men ready to take their chance in arms; and all along the line there were leaders, who constantly corresponded together. They had intercourse and correspondence, moreover, with the officers and troops; so that they had no reason to apprehend real resistance except in Rome, where the Government naturally had more partisans, and the conspiracy limited strength; and in Romagna, where the Swiss regiments were in garrison. But the conspirators of the Pontifical States always held to their intention not to be the first to rise, but to wait for the issue of the revolutions, that were continually announced as impending in the kingdom of Naples. And there was plotting there; but it was remiss, because in the face of the numerous troops of the King, and of his steam navy, able to carry them with great rapidity to operate in a variety of places, every one knew that the means of revolution were inadequate. In the Calabrias, however, in some towns of the Abruzzi, and at Messina, the conspirators were ready for any effort, however daring. In Tuscany, too, chiefly at Leghorn, and in some Ligurian towns along the coast to the eastward, and again in the

territories of Modena and Parma, there were some ramifications of the plot, but without any strength on which reliance could be placed. Thus it was in Italy. Abroad, the leaders of the *Giovine Italia* held in readiness some officers and a little cash; they collected in Malta and the Ionian Islands such refugees as were suited for active proceedings; and they enlisted suitable persons, not refugees, but resident abroad, in Paris or London, who were numerous among the Italian artisans and operatives, and for whom they had founded schools and associations of benevolence. These they intended to bring up in aid of the revolution, when once it had begun. Lastly, they had a great and not an ill-grounded hope of aid from the Austrian fleet, which had on board officers devoted to the sect. But whether Partesotti or others made Austria aware of it, she took her measures in time, and set herself to subdue the evil. The two sons of Admiral Bandiera, and one Moro, all of them officers, with one or two others, saved themselves by flight, and took refuge in the Ionian Isles.

In the spring of that year, 1844, an attempt at revolt in Cosenza was easily repressed, and such of the insurgents as had the opportunity of flight retired to the mountains, where for some time they maintained a petty defensive warfare. The conspirators of the Pontifical States would not move upon this, but waited for greater performances. The youths Bandiera were at Corfu. Nothing could curb their ardent spirits, — neither the knowledge of the failure of the movement and the discovery of the

machinations in Calabria, nor the general tranquillity of Italy, nor the promises of pardon from the Emperor, nor the tears and prayers of their bereaved mother, nor the advice of Mazzini, who warned them to refrain for the time from any effort. Unhappy and generous youths, worthy of a better lot! With about twenty companions they set out, and were dragged to the shambles by a wretch of an informer at San Giovanni in Fiore, in Calabria. Their premature death and their rare valour was lamented, and curses were heaped upon their murderers, even by those who condemned their ill-advised enterprise.

The example of that sacrifice stimulated the conspirators of the Roman States. to carry on their designs. Throughout that year, and in the following one, 1845, they held conferences together, sent emissaries backwards and forwards, collected money, prepared supplies, invited leaders and officers, provided arms, even in France, and brought them into the Papal States. The Government discovered, by intercepted letters, that money had been sent from Bologna to Rome, and imprisoned Doctor Giuseppe Galletti at the former place, Mattia Montecchi in the capital, others in other places. For a month or two the conspirators remained in suspense, hesitating about their plans. But Cardinal Massimo, who was Legate at Ravenna, provoked deadly resentment by summoning to that city the Military Commission still sitting at Bologna, which laid hands on a multitude of townsmen of all ages and conditions. At that time Massimo d'Azeglio was travelling through Cen-

tral Italy for purposes of study. He was in great repute for his excellent performances both as an author and as a painter, and he was beloved by numbers, as an accomplished and singularly agreeable gentleman. Apprised of these hopeless plans and these intrigues, he recommended, on his way, prudence and moderation: they must see, he said, the fruitlessness and mischief of ill-advised struggles; already their country was shedding too much blood, from gashes old and new; they should consider how to heal her, and not enfeeble her by uselessly mangling her afresh; they should abide their time and brace up their spirits by civil fortitude, but reserve actual war for opportunities of national emancipation; let them follow the mode and the course recently pointed out by his very famous fellow-countrymen, let them hope in the future, let them look to Piedmont; there was military strength, and there a king with an Italian soul. This prudent advice had the effect of persuading so many, that the movements then impending were delayed, and even when they began they did not spread. But that Military Commission, which the Cardinal Legate of Ravenna had invited to Romagna, and which threatened to vex other Provinces, caused the minds of the most hot-headed conspirators to revolt against the evidence of reason and of danger; so that, although abandoned by the greater part, they resolved to rise. So general was the sentiment opposed to the ideas of Mazzini, that the insurgents, and not those only who were not Mazzinians, but even some sent by Mazzini, and others accustomed to

work in the service of the *Giovine Italia*, refused to follow its ideas and instructions, or to raise its flag; but they determined to take arms on behalf of reforms, and to respect the sovereignty and ensigns of the Pontiff. They accordingly published the following manifesto.

"MANIFESTO OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE ROMAN STATES TO THE PRINCES AND NATIONS OF EUROPE.

"At the time when Pope Pius VII. was restored to the sovereignty of these States, he pledged himself, by the words prefixed to the *motu proprio* of 1816, to establish a form of Government which should borrow from that of the defunct kingdom of Italy, and should be accommodated to the demands of advancing civilization. But after a short time, when the civil and criminal Codes were published, there appeared too clearly an endeavour rather to copy from an odious period, than to keep the promises given, and follow the advice which the Congress of Vienna had tendered to the Court of Rome. Notwithstanding, however bitter to the inhabitants the disappointment of the hopes they had conceived, and however little, not the supremacy only, but the privileged power and fortune of the clerical class, which kept the laity at a distance from the chief distinctions and offices, might be to their taste, yet their dissatisfaction did not break into violence, although, during the years 1821 and 1822, Naples and Turin raised the cry and the ensigns of liberty. But after the Austrians had repressed the movement of those Italian Provinces, the Papal Court, far from being gratified at the maintenance of tranquillity, in the midst of such a fever of desires, and such excitement of the minds of men, sought to take vengeance upon ideas, upon emotions, and upon feelings; and, again erect after the terror it had suffered, applied itself to political inquisitions, which cast abroad the seeds of those party enmities, so productive subsequently of a harvest of blood.

Pius VII. died in 1823, and Leo XII. ascended the chair of St. Peter; who, being of a nature prone to extremes, proclaimed a crusade against those who longed for a free and civilized mode of life, and sent to govern Romagna such a man as Rivarola, who was both their accuser and their judge; and who caused many to be apprehended, and condemned many to prison and many to exile, without regard to age, condition, or praiseworthiness of conduct. And while the new Pontiff was thus persecuting the opinions and consciences of his subjects, he laid the axe to the roots of civilization, extending the privileges of religious corporations and their wealth, abolishing the Collegiate courts, conferring new power on that of the Holy Office, empowering ecclesiastics to examine and try the causes of laymen, enforcing the use of the Latin tongue in the courts, colleges, and universities, and placing in subjection to the priests both public instruction and all charitable establishments. Then, as if Rivarola had not sufficiently oppressed and saddened the Provinces of Romagna, a so-called Commission was dispatched thither, composed of priests and soldiers, which for years upon years remained stationary there, and so deluged them with blood and trod them down, that the recollection and the loathing of it continues lively and intense to the present day.

"Pius VIII. succeeded on the death of Leo. He walked in the steps of his predecessor; and, far from studying methods of healing the severe wounds he found, he opened new ones, and filled to the brim the measure of affliction. The revolution which happened in France in the year 1830, and the others, that took place at that period in other States of Europe, gave occasion to the population of the Roman States, when the life of Pius VIII. had finished, and the Apostolic See was vacant, to reckon upon being able to shake off, or to alleviate, the yoke of subjection to the Papacy. On one of the first days of February, 1831, from Bologna nearly up to the capital, the Government fell, and fell without struggle, and without violence: and assuredly it never would again have risen from that fall, if Austria had not anxiously hurried with

her troops to raise and prop it up. But during the time when this Power was repressing the popular movement, it united with France, England, and Prussia, to exhort the newly elected Pontiff, Gregory XVI., to improve his government in such a manner that he might hope for durable tranquillity. With this view the representatives of the four Powers presented, on the 21st May, 1831, a diplomatic note, in which, among other reforms, they proposed, that laymen should be appointed to all dignities and all offices, civil, administrative, and judiciary, and that the people should choose the Municipal Councils, and these last the Provincial; who in their turn should elect a supreme Court to be seated in Rome, with authority to provide for civil and military exigencies, and to watch over the public debt. The subjects of the Pope opened their hearts to the charm of hope, when they became acquainted with this proceeding; so much the more, because the Pope publicly announced that he was about to make such changes as would mark the commencement of a 'new era.' And although they did not place much reliance on the sincerity of the promises of the Court, which even recently had given tokens of conspicuous bad faith by declaring null and void the capitulation of Ancona concluded by Cardinal Benvenuti, who was armed with unlimited powers, still they reposed in the anticipation of better days. But their hopes shortly vanished; for in the Edict published on the 5th July, there was not a word either about popular election of the Municipal Councils, or about the establishment of a Supreme Council of State, or any other of those provisions that belong to the civil order under limited monarchies. The Austrians, however, evacuated the Legations in the middle of the same month, and the custody of the laws and of public security remained in the hands of a Civic Guard approved by the Government. Yet, ill-satisfied as the people might have been at being thus left to themselves, they not only respected the Papal Sovereignty, but they gave clear proofs of a love for peace, and of moderate ideas and desires. Among these it chiefly deserves to be recorded, that certain citizens

of the several provinces, who were the most conspicuous for integrity, the most famous for knowledge, and most respected for rank, were sent to Rome as Deputies, in order that they might represent to the Sovereign their wants, might obtain some provision for them, and might find the means of sealing a genuine concord between the governors and the governed. But the Court, which openly showed its detestation of the corps of the Civic Guard, and to all who wished for change, however temperate they might be, not only recoiled from the idea of doing justice to these petitions, but was counting the very moments until it could punish those who put them forward. And while it at one moment caressed, at another menaced the Deputies, and held them at arm's length with the accustomed ambiguities, it was engaged in collecting as many armed men as it could; and it brought together in Rimini a troop, composed for the most part of bandits and brigands, under the command of Cardinal Albani, who was charged with a commission, not to pacify, but to invade and conquer the Legations, not to accommodate the administration to the wants exhibited and the desires declared, but to reinstate despotism in all its plenitude. And thus while, on the one side, were seen subjects, like suppliants, offering peace on reasonable terms, on the other they were branded with rebellion, and arms were being burnished, which were to be plunged into the veins of the inhabitants, on behalf of him who represents upon earth a God of gentleness and of love. The bands which Albani had huddled together, unexpectedly marched to their task at the commencement of the year 1832, and the Civic Guards, excited by the intelligence, came in haste to Cesena, to oppose even their unarmed breasts to men who had already given evidence at Rimini of their disposition to plunder and exterminate, and that were spurred on by their leader to unheard-of violences through the promise of temporal and spiritual rewards. But the Austrians did not leave time or opportunity for resistance, as they entered the provinces of Bologna and of Ferrara on the same day when the Papal troops moved forward into that of Forlì.

Hence it happened that the assailants, intoxicated by the facility and secureness of their victory, sacked Cesena and the churches in its neighbourhood, and then, on their arrival at Forlì, committed an horrible massacre of five-and-twenty persons, between old people, children, and women; while others, moving from Ferrara, were shedding blood at Lugo, Bologna, and Ravenna. And thus began to be realised the promised 'new era' of the Pontificate of Gregory XVI. We leave to history the office of transmitting to future generations innumerable and most lamentable records, as we fear that a frank and true relation would be ascribed by the living to aversion and resentment. We are therefore content with noting the principal heads of the accusations that the people bring against the Government of Gregory now reigning; accusations, each one of which more than suffices to give the right of loudly protesting against his breach of faith, his trampling upon justice, his torturing human nature, and all the excesses of his tyranny. In 1832, the sect of the Sanfedists enlisted, together with other most abandoned persons of the most abject classes of society, a band of greedy and ready-handed villains, who took an oath to pursue the Liberals to extermination, without relenting for all the lamentations of women and screams of children; and the daggers of these Centurions of the Apostolic See of Rome, who polluted themselves with the gore of men, their brethren by baptism, received a benediction in the name of the Vicar of Christ. Afterwards the Governments stooped to the disgrace of putting uniforms upon them, and of entitling them Pontifical Volunteers; and bishops and priests were seen and heard publicly preaching the new crusade, alluring the incautious by the bait of immunities and privileges, poisoning the minds of men, and exasperating the spirit of party. For many long years these Centurions and Volunteers struck, wounded, robbed, and treacherously slew peaceful citizens with impunity; assassinations were counted by the hundred; wounds and blows by thousand upon thousand, not to mention contumely and outrage of every kind; and, as if impunity were not enough,

the perpetrators got from the Government praise, promotion, and decoration with knightly honours. It was not Rome, or the Pontiff, or the Cardinals, who for eight or ten years governed the people of the Legations, but a sanguinary knot from among a brutal mob bore the garb and the authority of Government. The Municipal Councils and every magistrature were invaded by its associates or partisans; the Universities were closed; from a large part of our youth were withheld the means of continuing their studies, and obtaining academical degrees; and many who had obtained them, were forbidden not only to aspire to public employment in their districts, but even to exercise the liberal professions. Bernetti, the Cardinal Secretary of State, addressed circular letters to the Presidents of the Courts, and to the Governors, in which he enjoined them in all cases to assign to Liberals the highest grade of punishment borne upon the Code, and to their opponents, if it were found impossible to acquit them, the lowest. In these codes it was enacted, that political offences should be examined and tried by special tribunals, that the ecclesiastics should not only have a privileged tribunal for themselves, but should likewise judge the causes of laymen when in litigation with any of their number; for the very slightest offences of the treasonable class, the penalty of death was imposed, and with the penalty of death the forfeiture of goods. In the mean time, education not only continued under the absolute control of the clergy, but the Jesuits in particular had undertaken to direct and impart it; and, without any need of explanation, the world may imagine how. Public opinion every day branded the Government more and more with perfidy and stupidity, indeed to such a degree, that the very devotees of the Roman See could not refrain from loudly abusing it; but it did not change its course for this. Aware that it had universally fallen from respect and affection, and foreseeing with certainty that, when once it was abandoned by the Austrian troops in occupation of the Provinces, they would revolt afresh, it took into pay two regiments of foreign infantry, who were bought in Switzerland by greedy agents,

that deceived and defrauded alike the Government and the recruits. Thus, then, to meet the enormous expenses of the enlistment and maintenance of these Pretorian guards, and to satiate the avarice of the associated Sanfedists, and to provide reward and favour for the troops of spies and the hordes of assassins, and to maintain the wanton pomp of the Court and the haughty indolence of the courtiers, there arose a necessity to contract loans ruinous to the State, to augment beyond measure the public taxes, allotted according to a new valuation, full of erroneous figures and false estimates, and to lease the customs duties and the public imposts to any who would provide funds in anticipation at usurious rates; hence the overbearing fortunes of a few, hence the distresses of the whole class of proprietors, the shameless luxury of the Swiss regiments, the degradation and nakedness of our native troops; hence an universal discontent, and in many an anger and a hatred, which only waited time and opportunity for an outburst. These effects of the insane system of the Court of Rome had been predicted with admirable sagacity by Sir George Seymour, Minister of England, when on retiring from the conferences in September, 1832, he addressed the following sentence to the representatives of the other nations: —

"'That the efforts made during more than a year and a half by the Five Powers to re-establish tranquillity in the Roman States have been useless; that further, no one of the recommendations made in the Memorandum of 1831, to remedy the principal faults, had been accepted; that the Papal Government, far from exerting itself to soothe the existing discontent, had aggravated it even since the negotiations; and that, accordingly, no body of Swiss would suffice to maintain tranquillity, which must sooner or later be disturbed.'

"And, in fact, by degrees, as with the lapse of time the sense of terror was effaced, the spirit of the party opposed to Government rose afresh, and more threatening in proportion as it had been more trodden down; and its suppressed resentment began to show itself in various ways, especially by one or two outrages of reaction committed

against the most detested of its persecutors. A miserable condition, if such a thing there be in the world, is that of a people who have received from nature a generous heart and vivid affections, but who are dragged by the provocations and excesses of a fanatical sect in power into a state of permanent defiance, war, and counterplot, against the conspirators invested with the venerable garments of religion and of sovereignty! There is in the history of Romagna a weighty lesson for the governors of nations, namely, that when the spirit of civil faction is installed into the place of justice, power is no longer a peace-maker and an umpire, but a robber and a man-slayer; every tie of civil society is broken, and force remains the only arbitress of the destinies of the citizens. And most important it is to repeat a thousand times over to the nations and Potentates of Europe, that the incessant political inquisitions, and the unparalleled persecutions, carried on in the Roman States from 1820 to our time, and the war against ideas, doctrines, and feelings that are most honourable to the human race, and the summary judgments and the multiplied assassinations committed in the name of the law, have defiled and corrupted the general mind with hatred and with vengeance, and have not only deprived the Roman Government of all moral regard, but have brought us to consider it as an unappeased and unappeasable foe of civilization, the despoiler of our substances, the conspirator against personal liberty and life, to resist whom, every instrument of defence and offence must needs be held allowable and honourable, by the consciences which it has perverted. But however we may brand with infamy and rebuke the provocations, the falsehoods, and the perverted arts of the blind despotism of Rome, we do not the more intend to justify the fierce resentment and the retaliations of the people, because both the one and the other vitally offend the refined sense of all nations, society, and the Divinity Himself; but our desire is, that the responsibility of both should recoil upon those who have caused and have fomented them. True it is, that in the years last

past, the party opposed to Government showed signs of a restive, insubordinate, and menacing spirit; and that in August, 1843, men proceeded in Bologna to acts of rebellion. The greater part of the population, however it might then abstain from treading the hazardous path of revolutions brought about by force, commended those demonstrations, from thinking that the Government, at last made to understand the wants universally felt and the general wishes, would have taken counsel from necessity, and have met them accordingly. But, far from seeing, in the existence of the armed band of Bologna, and in the excitement prevailing throughout the State, the proof of that universal discontent, that the more impatient were beginning to develop into acts of rebellion, it indulged in party passion, took counsel from this and from its fears, and acted under the influence of paroxysms of the one kind or of the other. Persuaded that it could distribute infamy just as it might blows with a musket or a battle-axe, it exclaimed before the world that the movement proceeded from the extravagance of criminal passion in a few, while the mass thought themselves most happy under so tranquil a dominion. In the mean time it appointed to sit in permanence the Military Commissions, judging without regular forms of process and without aid for the defence; and it placed upon them such of the soldiers as were most outrageous in their lust for blood and for gold, together with the most ferocious butchers of the law. It were vain to detail the innumerable banishments and incarcerations, the deaths and the confiscations, of which the world is already aware; they were processes and sentences worthy of barbarous ages, in which senselessness and effrontery vie with cruelty, and demonstrate that, where passion, and the most unbridled of all passions, darkens the intellect in its extravagances, men will pass the limits, not only of what is just and honourable, but likewise of reason and of common sense. For the sentences in this subject-matter which, during two years last past, have been published by the so-called Mixed Commission residing in the four

Legations, are marked by a ferocity so stupid as would offend the sense of shame in Mussulman judges, and they appeared to the world not so much utterances of justice, as mandates of slaughter issued to hangmen in the perverted names of God, the Law, and the Sovereign. The heart remains so oppressed at the sight of these miseries, that the understanding is unequal to the duty of setting forth the thousand others that afflict us. Use has by this time rendered us callous to many of these, and, menaced as we are hourly with death, with exile, or with the loss of personal freedom, we scarcely give heed to the augmentations of the taxes, to the mal-administration of the public funds, to fiscal avidity raising and prolonging civil suits, to daily violations of domicile, to the impunity of false informers, to the necessity of a passport for going one step out of a municipality, and to other innumerable grievances, the offspring of despotism; only we wish, that the Sovereigns and nations of Europe may in their wisdom consider, and in their conscience, as men baptized in Christ, may ask their feelings, whether this condition of ours be endurable, and whether in so great a diffusion of light, amidst so much movement of capital and progress of industry, and in contact with other States more or less advancing in the career of civilized existence, a people planted in the centre of Italy can suffer itself to be led like a dumb flock to prison, or the gallows; can acquiesce in a censorship stupidly fettering genius, and in education administered by Jesuits; can patiently see men of science forbidden not only to hold meetings, but to frequent those that are held in other Italian States; and the Press, the circulation of books, railways, nay, even Infant Asylums, smitten with anathema.

"We are not ignorant that, in the teeth of such numerous and most weighty reasons, some will blame the inhabitants of the Roman States, because it is with arms in their hands that they make a protest against tyranny, and demand reforms, and security for a peaceful and civilized life. We know it, and we lament it; because we feel the evils of forcible political revolutions, and how little their nature is agreeable

to that of Christian civilization. But we entreat all the Sovereigns of Europe, and all those who sit in their Councils, to consider, that we are driven by necessity to embrace this alternative, because we are precluded from manifesting our wants and wishes through the medium of any sort of representation, and not only deprived of the right of petition, but reduced to such a point, that even making a prayer or a complaint is construed into an act of treason, so that there remains for us no other way to put an end to the evils by which we are borne down.

"But the standard that we uplift is not one of war, it is of peace; our cry is peace and justice for all, reform of the laws, and guarantees for the permanence of these blessings. It will not be through us that one single drop of blood will flow; we respect and love the soldiers of the Pope, we embrace them as brothers, having a community of wants, of wishes, and of contumely with ourselves; and while we seek to remove the Pontiff out of the hands of a blind and fanatical faction, we have it at heart to deserve well of him and of the dignity of the Apostolic See, at the same time that we deserve well of our country and of mankind. We venerate the hierarchy of the Church and the whole clergy; and we hope that, following the lessons of the Gospel, they will consider Catholicism in its true, and noble, and most civilizing essence, and not under the mean and uncatholic view of an intolerant sect. And in order that neither now nor hereafter our desires may be misconstrued in our own country, in Italy, or abroad, we loudly proclaim, that we respect the sovereignty of the Pontiff as Head of the universal Church, without any restriction or condition; but if we are to respect and obey him as our temporal Sovereign, we claim and demand as follows: —

"1. That he shall concede a full and general amnesty to all persons condemned on political grounds, from the year 1821 until the present date.

"2. That he shall concede civil and criminal codes framed upon those of the other civilized nations of Europe, which

sanction the publicity of debate, the institution of juries, the abolition of confiscation, and of the penalty of death for all political offences.

"3. That the tribunal of the Holy Office shall not exercise any authority over laymen, nor shall the Ecclesiastical Courts have any jurisdiction in regard to them.

"4. That political charges shall henceforth be examined and punished by the ordinary tribunals, and according to the usual forms of procedure.

"5. That the Municipal Councils shall be freely elected by the inhabitants and approved by the Sovereign, who shall choose the Provincial Councils from the lists of those presented by the Municipal Councils, and the Supreme Council of State from the lists presented by the Provincial Councils.

"6. That the Supreme Council of State shall reside in Rome, and shall have charge of the public debt, with a deliberative vote on the public estimates and accounts, a consultative vote upon other matters.

"7. That all dignities and employments being civil, military, or judicial, be assigned to laymen.

"8. That public instruction be no longer subject to the Bishops and Clergy, to whom, however, shall be reserved religious training.

"9. That the preventive censorship of the Press be restrained within such bounds as shall prevent offences against God, the Catholic Religion, the Sovereign, or the private character of individuals.

"10. That the foreign troops be disbanded.

"11. That a Civic Guard be established, to which shall be intrusted the maintenance of public order and the guardianship of the laws.

"12. That, finally, the Government enter upon a course of all such social improvements as are demanded by the spirit of the age, after the example of all the civilized Governments of Europe.

"We will replace the sword in the scabbard, and will be tranquil and obedient subjects of the Pope, the very moment that he, under the guarantee of the Great Powers, shall have

done justice to our remonstrances, and conceded what we ask; and thus every drop of our blood, and that of others, that may unhappily be shed, will lie, not upon our heads, but on theirs who shall retard or obstruct an agreement. And if men shall form a judgment unfavourable to us, the eternal and unerring Judge, who inexorably condemns the violence of the oppressors of nations, will absolve us in His most wise justice, in the eye of which the rights and the duties of all men are alike, and the tyranny that is wrought upon the earth is accursed. We recommend, then, our cause to God, to the Pontiff, and to the Princes of Europe, with all the fervour of our hearts, and with the emotions of men under oppression; and we pray and beseech those Princes not to suffer us to be driven to the necessity of proving that, when a people is abandoned by every one and reduced to extremities, it can find safety even in the despair of safety."

This manifesto was, as would now be said, the political *programme* of the partial and short-lived insurrection, that afterwards took its name from Rimini, where it broke out, chiefly through the instrumentality of one Pietro Renzi. With a band of gallant youths, he surprised and disarmed the few native troops upon the spot, there as elsewhere, either indifferent or conniving. The insurgents did not commit either violence or wrong of any other kind; they took possession, it is true, of the little cash that was found in the public coffers, but this, which the Government and its journals afterwards denounced as a wicked robbery, was considered by impartial men a necessary consequence of political convulsion, and by no means as an ordinary crime. Cardinal Massimo, who was enjoying country quarters in the province of Forlì, at a spot not far from Rimini, when apprised

of the movement, went off *incognito*, and hastily betook himself to Ravenna. Cardinal Della Genga, who was Legate at Pesaro, stood in great apprehension. But the enterprise of Rimini ended almost as soon as it began, because the other cities did not second it. Only in Lower Romagna, Pietro Beltrami, a spirited and wealthy youth, in order to keep his plighted word, rose in arms with a few friends, chiefly of Bagnacavallo and Faenza, and at his own private cost endeavoured to raise the population along the *Via Emilia;* but being followed up by the Swiss troops, and by assemblages of Pontifical Volunteers, he was obliged to fall back upon the hills which overhang Romagna, and he engaged them on the Tuscan frontier, at a place called Le Balze, where he defended himself with great bravery. He shortly, however, learned that Renzi, having lost courage, had not attempted any exploit, but on the contrary, the moment he had notice of the approach of the Swiss troops, had abandoned the city, and with a few companions had betaken himself for safety to the Tuscan territory. On this account he was constrained to lay down his arms, and to accept the passage for France, that the Tuscan Government offered him.

These events were followed, as might be expected, by new and greater severities of the Government, new and greater sufferings of their subjects. The Military Commissions, having before them vast materials for their task, became sole governors of Romagna, though Cardinal Gizzi, who was Legate at Forlì, would not allow them to establish themselves in the city which

he governed. In Ravenna they had already put to death two individuals charged with the assassination of a carabineer; and by the 10th of September they had summarily tried and condemned to the galleys, sixty-seven persons, of whom one was noble, five were proprietors of land, five merchants, five in the liberal professions, and fifty-two artisans; and this without proof of any other fault than mutual intimacy. With such forms of procedure and of judgment, no one was able to rely upon his innocence; from whence the minds of men were in painful suspense, not only throughout the Legations, but likewise in the provinces of Pesaro and Ancona, as it was said that the Commission would take up its quarters in them; and it had already dispatched its agents thither to make inquiries.

But these movements, undertaken with a view to the reforms which the Powers had recommended in the Memorandum of 1831, affected public opinion much more than any of the preceding attempts; and in the most moderate of the French journals,—among others in the *Journal des Débats*, which was thoroughly devoted to the policy of the Guizot Ministry—there were inserted remarks tending to justify the subjects of Rome, and bitter against its misgovernment. In this the papal Court found matter for reflection, since it feared that justice might be done, in the councils of the powerful, at any rate to moderate desires and to just complaints. The Sanfedist party, which governed in the name of the Pope, persecuted

and vexed far more severely those reformists who showed that they were working for an attainable end, than those, who in past times had betaken themselves to the extreme alternative of rebellion."

CHAP. X.

WORK OF MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO. — OTHER POLITICAL WORKS. — PUBLIC OPINION IN ITALY AND ABROAD. — DISPLEASURE OF AUSTRIA. — DISAGREEMENTS OF PIEDMONT WITH AUSTRIA. — THE JESUITS IN FRANCE. — ROSSI, AMBASSADOR AT ROME. — THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS AT ROME. — LANGUAGE OF GREGORY XVI. — HIS DEATH ON JUNE 1, 1846.

MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO took occasion, from the events I have just related, to print a composition* of his, in which he censured the ineffectual and mischievous efforts at revolution, and along with them the misgovernment that impelled the subjects to them in their despair. He warned the impatient and violent, but vindicated the authors of the recent movements from those calumnious imputations which the men in power hurled at the fallen; and, using the language of freedom,—keen against the oppressors, consoling to the oppressed,—he sought means to light up the minds of Italians with the love of national independence, in order that they might abstain from every enterprise less noble and less great. The Roman Government thought to darken the truth by the mean warfare of hired journals, by the terror of the Military Commissions, and by the extreme severity of the censorship; but all honourable men, even of opinions the most moderate, assented to the arguments of reason and

* "Degli ultimi casi di Romagna."

justice, and formed a judgment unfavourable to the Government of Rome. Austria was childishly angry with Azeglio, and required and obtained of the feeble Government of Tuscany that he should be expelled from that country, where he was then residing; and it was from this cause that the celebrated writer of romance, the distinguished painter, the recent political author, acquired a great increase of renown in Italy, and of influence over general opinion; and received many public and signal testimonials of esteem, of affection, and of honour. At that juncture, there came to the light successively other books, which gave strength to moderately liberal opinions; censured such governments as were narrow, absolute, or oppressive; roundly abused the stupid and unjust proceedings of certain wicked advisers of the Princes, and of certain rètrograde associations; and both stated and explained the injustice of the dominion of the stranger, the corruption and perfidy of the Austrian Court, and the imprescriptible rights of the Italian race to national independence. The *Prolegomeni* of Gioberti; Balbo's book on the "Hopes of Italy," which was reprinted with additions and corrections, and the summary of his "History of Italy;" the weighty work of the "Anonymous Lombard;" the volume of Giacomo Durando on "Italian Nationality," and other minor productions of the Italian genius,—enlightened the minds of men, raised their spirits, and methodised their opinions. Such a novel and effectual method of contest, from which the desires and hopes of independence gradually drew food and vigour, was far

more stinging to Austria than the conspiracies, over which she easily triumphed, had in past times been hurtful to her: and this annoyed her most of all, that the works to which I refer were in a tone respectful to the royal family of Savoy, and to King Charles Albert, upon whom it appeared that the hopes of a national sovereignty would principally rest. The ill-humour of Austria was manifest; her journals, German and Italian, murmured against Piedmont, turned into mockery the reforms that were in progress there, passed a sharp censure upon the plans for railways, and wrote disparagingly of King Charles Albert. The Government of Lombardy, too, became unusually harsh to such Sardinian subjects as came within its jurisdiction, and by other like signs showed the ill-will and restlessness of the Court of Vienna. The most serious and important of them was this, that, in the beginning of April, it published a notification, by which the import duty upon Sardinian wines in the Lombardo-Venetian provinces was augmented by 21 *lire* 45 *centesimi* (18*s.*) *per* metrical quintal.

I quote the words in which King Charles Albert thought fit to announce to his people this ill turn from Austria; and I quote them, partly because they prove the futility of the pleas with which Austria coloured the true grounds of her displeasure, partly because they were the introduction to proceedings on a larger scale, and to serious catastrophes.

"The augmentation of the import duty (thus spoke the journals of the Government) on the wines of the King's dominions, which has been adopted by Austria, strikes so

directly at the interests of our proprietors and growers, that it is right to point out the causes of such a measure. In 1751, a convention was concluded between the Courts of Sardinia and Austria, by which the latter granted a passage to the salt of the Republic of Venice through the States of Lombardy, and the former on its part abandoned its active commerce in salt with the Swiss Cantons, and the Italian districts dependent upon them. This convention was revived in 1815, but Piedmont had then absolutely ceased to consume Venetian salt; and therefore, as the end for which it had been concluded existed no longer, she might have considered it as annulled. It was only in deference to the Court of Austria that, upon the ground that the convention had not been declared formally at an end, His Majesty declined to furnish to the Canton of Tessin the quantity of salt which it had requested. The Government, however, of that Canton, having purchased it abroad, requested of His Majesty's Government leave for it to pass: and this was granted, because, according to the maxims of the law of nations, the passage of any merchandise whatever should not be refused to neighbouring States unless it would occasion injury to the State granting it. The Court of Vienna insisted on considering this transit of salt as an active commerce, although it was granted without any advantage or profit to the tolls of the kingdom, and objected to it accordingly. His Majesty refused to adopt such an extension of the treaty of 1751. In it not a word is said about transit, which the Court of Sardinia never has agreed, or could agree, to prohibit.

"Upon these grounds Austria has adopted the measure above named by way of reprisal."

This first and most recent act of resistance, by an Italian Prince, to domineering Austria, was universally admired and eulogised in Italy. The Turinese hailed Charles Albert with festivities and public acclamation; and to him the minds of the Italians

turned with gratitude, and with the hope of greater things.

In the Pontifical State, where there was more suffering than elsewhere, hope and expectation were also on a larger scale. The news came there of that *henologic* association, of which Charles Albert had permitted the establishment. It was known, that some exiles from the Roman State, at that time driven out of Tuscany, which a ministry sworn to Austria had made inhospitable, were received in Piedmont; there was talk, too, of armaments and of plans, magnified by rumour. From these causes, men's minds were heated not only by their old and customary feelings, and by undefined hopes and wishes for revolution, but through the fresh hopes which an Italian Prince had inspired by his resistance to Austria, the one true and potent conservator of despotism, and of the corrupt Governments of the Italian States. Besides, the Court of Rome, oppressed by the fear of sects and of conspiracies, did not comprehend either the new direction that public opinion had taken, or the inward and hidden reasons of the recent events; and it continued to tread its wonted way, imagining that repression or oppression meant, and was equivalent to, governing and preserving. It had already made the most keen and urgent representations, in order to obtain from the Tuscan Government the delivery into its own hands of that Pietro Renzi who was the author of the movement of Rimini, and who, first taking refuge in France, afterwards secretly returned to Florence, and was there discovered and arrested. And because

the Tuscan Ministry had recognised the claims of the Court of Rome, and, regardless of the public complaints, had placed in its power that insignificant personage, it seemed to think, so jealously did it guard him, that it had gained a treasure, and had placed the constitution in safety. The wretched creature sought to soften his inquisitors, and save his life, at the price of infamy. He confessed his own offences and those of his friends; and, to prove that he really was the important and dangerous character that the men in power believed, he concocted fables about new conspiracies, and was shameless in accusation and in calumny. Hence the rigours of the police, which had at that time Monsignor Marini at its head, increased, and the Military Commissions menaced not only Romagna, but also the Marches. They already were ordering arrests in Ancona, and in the Province of Urbino and Pesaro, of which Cardinal Della Genga was the Legate. Rome had entrusted him with temporal dignities and the government of men, because in his spiritual office as Archbishop of Ferrara, and in superintending consecrated virgins, he had acquired by his conduct a scandalous reputation. There was abundant cause for disunion and discredit: and as if it had not been furnished, even to excess, by the stupid and iniquitous acts of tyranny and vexation, and the incessant, unjust, or excessive sentences of the extraordinary tribunals, the Churchmen supplied yet more. One of them would command, that, if a man should but set foot in the house of a young woman, or show himself to be smitten with

her beauty, he should be bound, and compellable by the Ecclesiastical Court, to espouse her. Another would prohibit Christian physicians to undertake the treatment of Jews, or to continue that of sick Christians, if reluctant to make provision for their souls by the Sacraments; others, again, by other uncivilised, or uncharitable, or otherwise revolting, regulations.

Besides these, the Court of Rome had new and irksome anxieties. M. Thiers had made himself the accuser of the Jesuit fathers from the tribune of the French Parliament, and had demanded that the Government should put into execution that law of the State, which declared the dissolution of religious Congregations not approved and permitted by the executive authorities. In Switzerland, in France, and in Italy, the old antipathies had been revived and aggravated against that noted Company,—the butt of so many ancient and recent charges and complaints, in history and romance, in journals, and before tribunals. The French Government had promised M. Thiers, in the Parliament, that it would put the laws of the State into full execution the moment it had concluded what it thought the needful communications with the Court of Rome. For these it dispatched to the Eternal City, Pellegrino Rossi, the exile of 1815, now become Professor, Peer, and Ambassador. The Court of Rome was ill pleased with the arrival of so considerable a person,—an able lawyer, thoroughly acquainted, too, with Roman artifices, the author of works which the Court

itself had proscribed, the framer of Republican Constitutions, the steady defender of the institutions of modern civilisation, and of the representative system; nor could the Government of Rome forget, that this ambassador of France was still the same man who had always contended for the freedom and independence of Italy. 'Add that it was said, that Rossi was to be engaged not only in the matter of the Jesuits, but likewise in political questions;' and that he was charged to study them, to converse upon them with men worthy of esteem, and revered by the country; and to find means of having justice done to the demands of the public opinion. Nor did annoying cares and serious reflections reach Rome only from Republican Switzerland and Constitutional France, but likewise, and even more, from Russia, where the Autocrat made open war on the Catholic Religion and on the authority of the Pope, and subjected its adherents to persecution and to martyrdom, after the manner of the Pagan Emperors of old.

I have now arrived with my succinct narrative nearly at the close of the reign of Gregory XVI., and have used, in regard to his temporal government, that serious language which truth and my conscience have dictated. I am therefore especially glad to bear an honourable and respectful testimony to his conduct as Pontiff, to his constant zeal for the growth of the Catholic Religion, and to the prudence and conciliatory spirit, of which he gave proof in managing the affairs of the Jesuits of France; as also to the courage and noble-mindedness with which he defended the Catholics

trodden down by Russian tyranny. For he authoritatively recommended the General of the Jesuits in Rome to disband, as he best could, his soldiery in France; he sought, too, for this and other adjustments, in order to avoid giving increased material for discord and for scandal to that Christian nation; and to Nicholas, Emperor of the Russias, when he had come to Rome, he spoke, at an interview, with an emotion so noble, and a dignity so much more than human, that the fame of it went everywhere abroad. It is but right to preserve the record of the words he used, which, according to the testimony of one who caught them, were of the following tenour:—

"Sire! the day will come in which we must both present ourselves to God, to render Him an account of our deeds. I, as being far more advanced in years, shall assuredly be the first; but I should not dare to meet the eye of my Judge, if I did not this day endeavour to defend the Religion entrusted to my charge, which you are oppressing. Sire! think well upon it: God has created Kings, that they may be the fathers, not the tyrants, of the subjects who obey them."

The Lord had a short time before called to his Judgment-seat, Francis IV., Duke of Modena; and on the 1st of June of that year, 1846, He summoned thither, after a short illness, the aged Pontiff.

I will now give an account, in brief heads, of the establishments, the systems, the usages, and the condition of the Court and State of Rome at the epoch of his death.

CHAP. XI.

THE COURT. — GAETANO MORONI. — THE SACRED COLLEGE. — THE PRELATURE. — THE FINANCES. — COMMERCE. — THE ARMY. — PUBLIC INSTRUCTION. — THE LEGATES AND DELEGATES. — THE POLICE. — THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM. — PUBLIC OPINION. — FRIENDS AND OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The Court of Gregory XVI. was constituted in the manner usual under other Pontiffs. There was a Prelate at the head of the Household, and this office was always filled by a Cardinal. There were Prelates Clerks of the Chamber, and Prelates Grooms of the Privy Chamber; Lay gentlemen of the sword and cloak, or Chamberlains; and Lay grooms of the chamber, or domestics in the clerical habit. For parade and defence there was the Noble Guard, and the company of Swiss with the halberts and liveries of the Raffaellesque fashion. There was a Secretary for Memorials, a Cardinal Secretary for Briefs, a Cardinal for Patronage*, a Cardinal of the Exchequer†, a Cardinal of the Archives‡ of Holy Church, a Prelate Private Secretary to the Pope, a Prelate Secretary for the Latin Correspondence, a Prelate for the Wardrobe, and other Prelates in other minor offices.

Gregory XVI. did not give public audiences; and it is said that, when he received privately, he did not love to speak on temporal affairs. It is reported, that

* Datario. † Camerlengo. ‡ Cancelliere.

his household was not economically managed, and that there was little method in the expenditure. Gaetano Moroni, who formerly had been his barber as the Monk and Cardinal Capellari, and had afterwards become his first groom of the Chamber as Pope, was always the man after his own heart. Gregory XVI. decorated him with orders of knighthood, placed him in comfortable and envied circumstances, and was so attached to him, that he got the name and credit of a minion, and dispensed protections and favours not only of the Court but of the State. There were loud murmurs; but, in spite of them, the Cavaliere Gaetano Moroni received the homage not of those only that were in quest of graces and honours, but also of Cardinals and Prelates: small men of letters dedicated to him sermons and verses, and extolled him as a person of deep learning, inasmuch as he was the author, or more probably the editor, of an Ecclesiastical Dictionary which, on the invitation and the recommendation of the Court and the Government, all the municipalities, as well as all the dependents of both, had to purchase. To this fortunate and astute barber, or "Gaetanino," as the Romans coaxingly called him, incense was burned by the courtly crowd of self-seekers, of flatterers, and of crop-eared curs.

The sacred College of the Cardinals was distinguished for its many pious members, some of whom were illustrious for theological learning, and others as accomplished in foreign tongues; but it did not shine in the possession of those virtues, which are necessary for the good government of States. If, however, we

put out of the question talents and political opinions, and excepting only a few of its members, it is but fair to bear testimony to their sincere piety, and the purity of their lives.

The Prelature, especially that part of it which attends the Court and mixes in politics, is composed of men neither clerical nor lay, being too laical for clergymen, and too clerical for laymen; and it was neither remarkable for learning, nor respectable for strictness of life.

The finances were administered by a Prelate as Treasurer, who was entitled, on quitting his office, to be appointed Cardinal. His acts were liable to review only by the Pope; his accounts were not audited, and probably were not susceptible of audit, by reason of the badness of the system, and the privileged quality of the person. The public taxes of the Government were raised in two forms; one direct, the other indirect. The first consisted of the tax on real property and the tax on successions, which produced about three million crowns a-year; the second were composed of the Customs' duties, the monopolies of salt and tobacco, of the Stamps and Registry, of the Post, the Lottery, the Excise upon corn ground in some Provinces, and upon the consumption of it in others: these produced about six millions of crowns a-year. From these sums should be deducted the expenses of collection, which, for the direct taxes, reached about twenty-three per cent., for the Excise eleven, for Stamps and Registry sixteen, for the Post-Office sixty, for the Lottery sixty-nine, or on the average about a

fourth of the gross, income. In ancient times, such ample tributes flowed into Rome from the whole Catholic world, that the Papal subjects paid few taxes; still, even then, the public treasury was in ill condition, because of nepotism and of wars long ago, and more recently of mal-administration. For a long time the expenditure has exceeded the revenue of Rome, and loans and debts have been in fashion. Clement VII. had already begun to create the so-called *luoghi di monte*, which implied that the Sovereign was to make use of the taxes and duties in advance, constituting a species of transferable securities or annuity warrants in favour of the lenders of money. When this manner of providing for the treasury had been discovered, the *luoghi di monte* were, under various forms, multiplied to such a degree, that, in the time of Sixtus V., eleven of them could be named, in which almost the entire income of the State and the Church were mortgaged and made over to creditors; and thus it happened, that the public debt was gradually swelled, and, so soon as 1670, amounted to fifty-two millions of crowns. In the reigns of Innocent X. and Innocent XI. the interest was reduced, first, from five per cent. to four, then from four to three; and as this remedy was found too weak for the inveteracy of the evil, in the course of time resort was had to the customary but desperate expedients of paper money, and money of base metal, which we call *erosa*. In 1801 the debt of the Pontifical Government, between *vacabili*, *luoghi di monte*, and debts taken over from the municipalities, amounted to

seventy-four millions of crowns; and the income never reached the expenditure. In 1811, the French, after their conquest, cancelled one half of the public debt by dissolving the religious Congregations, who were creditors to that extent, and by confiscating their property; the other half was paid at the rate of forty per cent., and thus they started afresh. At the Restoration, the debt of the *Monte Napoleone* at Milan was distributed, in proportion to population and territorial revenue, among the States that had constituted the kingdom of Italy. The reckoning was made upon an hundred thousand parts, out of which twenty-one thousand four hundred fell to the share of Rome, in the ratio of the Provinces of the Pontifical States which had formed part of that kingdom. Thus she was saddled with about a million crowns; but, as a set-off, she had her proportional quota of the eighty million francs which constituted the assets of the *Monte Napoleone*. Hence her share on the credit side was greater than that on the debit. Pius VII. liquidated the remaining certificates of the old Pontifical debt at the rate of four per cent.; and to re-establish and reimburse the religious Congregations, and meet other claims upon him both from Church and State, he created a new debt of one million five hundred thousand crowns. He thought of founding a Sinking Fund, but the design never took effect; and although Leo XII. did afterwards actually found it, and endowed it at the outset with fifty-five thousand crowns a-year, and afterwards with further sums, yet it fell out that the treasurer never paid over this endowment

in full, and that the sums which he did pay were made away with, so that the whole fund disappeared. After the events of 1831, the monopolies of salt and tobacco, with the dues on corn ground, and others on consumption, were farmed, and considerable sums were drawn in anticipation, of course to the increase of the public debt. Throughout the reign of Gregory, foreign interventions, the enrolment and establishment of the Swiss troops, the Military Commissions, and the police, cost enormously. Ruinous loans were contracted, one of them with Rothschild at sixty-five per cent.; and although the taxes were increased, there was an annual deficiency of from five to six hundred thousand crowns; so that the public debt, during Gregory's reign, was augmented by twenty-seven millions of crowns. The administration of the Treasurer Tosti was a real calamity: no one accuses of roguery one who remained poor, but all charge him with inexpertness and utter indolence. The Treasury was impoverished, confusion aggravated: many in Rome acquired excessive wealth by usury, by public farming, and by works executed *economically*, as it is called, (that is, not by tender), under Tosti. Of one decennial period of his administration it was never found practicable to frame and render a regular account. One Galli, the accountant of the Papal Treasury, huddled figures together, and gave out that he had achieved it; but it was only throwing dust in people's eyes.

The Clergy imputed the derangements of the reign of Gregory to tumults and insurrections. Assuredly these were not advantageous; but the ill state of the

Papal finances was of old date, as has been already shown; and the true and inevitable cause of the inveterate and obstinate evil lay in this, that, in the Court of Rome, the revenues of the State were always viewed as a patrimonial income for a privileged class, and by no means as public property subject to accountability for its administration. The men in power regard themselves as masters, and not as simple trustees; they are not public officers, but persons sharing together in a sovereignty that they wield in the name of the Church, while they regard the State as one grand ecclesiastical benefice, a possession to be turned to account by Churchmen. To this we must add the bad civil and economical system, obstructing the growth of public wealth, with the large entailed estates and *majorats*, hindering the circulation of property; and still more the Church-Corporations, who possess a capital of about one hundred millions of crowns. Add to these a bad system of registry for mortgages, the multitude of pensions given by favour in the reign of every Pope, the farming of taxes with one hand, and with the other the execution of the public works on account of Government, instead of doing it by contract. And now, without further specification or enquiry, we have grounds more than enough for the wretched state of the Pontifical finances.

Commerce and industry were governed by the Cardinal of the Exchequer of Holy Church, under a system of prohibitory and protective regulations, by tariffs, premiums, monopolies, and privileges. Let any one who wishes to make himself master of the

heteroclite economical ideas of the Court of Rome cast an eye on Signor Angelo Galli's work, the *Cenni Economici Statistici dello Stato Pontificio*, which was, and still is, the apple of its eye, and the Genius of its finance. The simple folks thought they were favouring commerce and fattening the Treasury, while really they did but feed the contraband, which became more than a mere craft; it was a regular commerce, justified even in the opinion of casuists. There were numerous bands of organised smugglers, with their officers and banks for management, with insurers, clerks of accounts, and carriers: while for defence they had their captains, guides, and escorts. The customs officers and watchmen were numerous, but ill paid; helps to the smuggler rather than to the Treasury. Public morality and security were heavy sufferers; rough and ready-handed men grew used to collisions with the forces of the State, to an adventurous life, and to desperate struggles. The lust of money, which the prospect of sudden and easy gain begets and fosters in the mind, gave birth to indolence, gambling, and every other vice; and when the diminution of tariffs, and change in the course of trade, put an end to the imposing profits of the smuggler, that class, abandoned to misdoing, was ready for rapine, for assaults, and for commotions. Such was the happy result of the tariffs, which moreover were barbarous even in their details, and with reference simply to the purpose of protection. By way of example I will mention that, while premiums are granted for the construction of

large merchant vessels, in order to favour the growth of the mercantile marine, timber for building purposes is subject to an export duty scarcely greater than that of wood unhewn; from which cause the large export that has been made to England for many years has doubled its price in the country. And, if we wish to know the effect of premiums, we shall find that the cloths of the State, which enjoy them, are not only bad, but dearer than good foreign ones, and that the Government, to encourage the manufacture, besides giving the premium, purchases all that the troops require. In regard to monopolies and exemptions I will set down this fact, that, in order to protect, as is professed, the trade of refining sugar, it has been made for twenty-five years a monopoly, for a sole manufacturer and a single refinery, which is able to produce scarcely a tenth part of the quantity necessary for consumption, while, in the mean time, foreign sugar is loaded with a tax of forty per cent. Even the institutions of credit, as they are called, are protected; and the single Bank of Rome, which has a capital of 500,000 crowns, exists under exclusive privilege.

The commerce of transit scarcely exists; the home trade is but small; the foreign trade, between imports and exports, reaches about 20,000,000 crowns a-year; the imports are something greater than the exports. The Government has neither a steamer nor a ship of war upon either of the seas that wash the country.

The Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs, both ecclesiastical and lay, is held by a Cardinal, with a

Prelate for his deputy, and clerical and lay assistants: both the ecclesiastical and secular diplomacy at foreign Courts is conducted by Prelates called Apostolic Nuncios, or Internuncios, or else by *Chargés d'Affaires*. The Department of State for Home Affairs is likewise under a Cardinal, with a Prelate for his deputy, and clerical and lay subordinates.

The State, with its population of about 3,000,000, is divided into twenty-one Provinces. Some of them are composed of vast and fruitful districts with 300,000 inhabitants and upwards; others are limited and poor, with 15,000 or 20,000. The four so-called Legations, Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, and Forlì, and the Province of Urbino and Pesaro, are each governed by a Cardinal Legate, the rest by a Prelate, who must also be Monsignore. The Cardinal Dean is President of Velletri, where he keeps a Prelate as Vice-Legate. A Cardinal is President of Rome and Comarca.

The Cardinal Legates have a Pontifical Brief, which defines their authority and powers: it is not alike for all. They direct the police of the Province, command the armed force, superintend the provincial, and are guardians of the municipal, administration; sentence to imprisonment summarily, release from punishment, and administer mercy within fixed bounds. The Prelates Delegate have narrower discretion, if not less authority. Every Cardinal or Prelate, Legate or Delegate of a Province, has four lay Councillors, named by the Sovereign. Every Province has a Provincial Council elected in the

manner I shall describe. The Municipal Councils meet and name the electors; these assemble in the capital of the district, and submit to the Sovereign a list of three for each place to be filled. The Provincial Council meets once a year, and sits for fifteen days, to make up the estimates and accounts of the Province, to appoint and applot the provincial taxes, which are direct and upon real property; it names, too, a Provincial Commission of Administrative Superintendents, which sits permanently.

The District has no real importance, either administrative or political.

The Municipality is constituted as follows. The Sovereign names, in the first instance, all the Councillors from the classes of nobles, proprietors, members of the liberal professions, and chief persons in the respective trades. The Council is renewed by one-third at a time, and fills its own vacancies; but every Councillor must be approved by the Government. The Council proposes to the Government the lists of three for the nomination of Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Councilmen*, who together form the permanent municipal magistracies. The municipal bodies impose taxes on properties and articles of consumption, and collect them by officers of their own.

In every District, and also in Municipalities of a certain size, there resides a lay Governor. The Governors of the first class have a monthly pay of fifty crowns, those of the second class forty, of the third thirty-five, the fourth thirty, the fifth twenty-five. There are also certain Governors of baronial

* Gonfaloniere, Priori, ed Anziani.

and abbatial estates, nominated, like the rest, by the Pope, but paid by the feudatary, who administer justice in the name of the Lord Baron according to the Papal laws. The Governor superintends the Municipalities; the Councils cannot meet but by his order, and no subject can be debated except with his previous approval: he presides at the meetings, and has a voice and a share in all municipal committees and delegations. The so-called Congregation *del Buon Governo*, with a Cardinal for its President, had the guardianship of the Municipalities round about Rome.

The Governors are likewise directors of the police in their own districts, and of espionage, arrests, and inquisitions. They are criminal judges for offences not subject to any penalty exceeding three years of labour on the public works, and in the particular case of theft they may give sentence up to ten years of the galleys. They are civil judges in causes involving sums not greater than 200 crowns. Lastly, they carry on the administrative correspondence between each Municipality and the capital of the Province, and they give the official sanction in the transactions, termed of voluntary jurisdiction, and relating to women and minors.

The supreme administration of the police lies with a Prelate, who is Governor of Rome. The office is held by a Cardinal, from whom authority passes owndwards to the Cardinal Legate or Prelate Delegate, and from these to the Governors; and in another branch it likewise passes through the successive

grades of the Carabineers, a police force commanded by the same Governor-Prelate.

The Department, elsewhere called that of War, is governed by a Prelate, with the title of President of Arms. This likewise is a Cardinal's post. The good officers are few; most of them attain their rank by favour, patronage, or servility; they are fit only to pass muster, and not over fit for that. There is no code, no good regulations or orders for discipline, no pride in the profession or in the flag. The men are picked up here and there, and enlisted by means of a low premium: they are an ill-favoured and ill-conditioned set, particularly the infantry; the cavalry the same in a less degree. Thus is the noble art of war depraved and made contemptible, and the name of Papal soldier is a catchword of reproach. The Carabineers are effective, and so are the two Swiss regiments, privileged in pay and in handsome uniforms, while the native force is ragged and nasty.

The sacred Congregation of Studies, composed of Cardinals and of Prelates, regulates public education at its discretion. A Cardinal Bishop is Arch-chancellor of each of the greater Universities of Rome and Bologna; the Bishop is the Chancellor of the smaller ones at Macerata, Urbino, Perugia, Ferrara, and Camerino. The Bishop is the director of instruction in each diocese; the Rural Dean* in each Municipality, and in each parish the Incumbent. It is forbidden to any one to teach publicly or privately without the licence of the sacred Congregation, or the approval of the Bishop: he, too, presides at examina-

* Vicario Foraneo.

tions, and frames or approves schemes, regulations, and books for all schools. Every teacher is either actually chosen, or else approved, by him, or by the sacred Congregation: ecclesiastics are always preferred to laymen. In Rome the Jesuit Fathers are the sole educators of youth, and in other places they get the preference. The methods used are either inadequate for solid instruction, or faulty, or even radically bad. Childhood is worried with the eternal bore of the Latin Grammar, and youth with peddling metaphysical lucubrations. There are no model schools nor free schools, no gymnastic exercises, no industrial or military instruction. It is forbidden to teach political economy; the studies of jurisprudence and medicine are jejune and defective; the school of Engineers at Rome, however, is good. Political events had deprived the University at Bologna of Tommasini in 1830, of Orioli and Silvani in 1831. Bufalini, Matteucci, Regnoli and Puccinotti, not to mention others less distinguished, were invited to adorn the Tuscan Universities, when they had been passed over or suspected by the Papal Government. The proscribed Mamiani was in honour at Paris; Malaguti, also proscribed, was provided for in France; Salvolini, neglected amongst us, was invited into Piedmont and to Paris. Yet notwithstanding so heavy a loss of men, and such neglect of the Universities, that of Bologna was still distinguished by Allessandrini, Bertolini, Gherardi, Medici, Venturoli, and Magistrini; and that of Rome by Villani, Cavalieri, De-Vico, Tortolini, Folchi, and De Mattheis. Tenerani and Co-

ghetti were the brightest luminaries of the fine arts; Baruzzi likewise shone in them. In Bologna there was a school of Music, directed by the marvellous Rossini; but scientific Academies, and those of Art and Literature, were all under the controul of the Sacred Congregation of Studies. Scientific congresses were not allowed. Letters, impoverished by the censorship and by empty academic insipidities, yielded fruit worth little to the taste, and nothing for nourishment.

The wealthy and numerous foundations of charity and beneficence were under the absolute government of the Clergy, and ill-administered; infant asylums were forbidden.

The Press was subject to a three-fold censorship; namely by the Holy Office, by the Bishop, and by the Government.

The arrangement of the Tribunals was so complex and outlandish, that it is a difficult matter to give an account of it. I will do my best, however, to describe clearly, first the ordinary, and then the extraordinary Courts.

Every capital of a Province is the seat of a Collegiate Court, which administers justice as well in civil as in criminal matters. Public discussion is allowed in the first, but prohibited in the second. The Courts of first instance at Bologna, Ravenna, Ferrara, and Forlì, are composed of a President and Vice-President, with six other Judges at Bologna, and four at the rest. The President's salary is fifty crowns a month; the judges have forty. In the other Provinces of the State the Courts are composed of a President, two regular Judges, and two Supernumeraries;

some of the Presidents have forty crowns per month, others five-and-twenty; some of the Judges thirty, others twenty; the Supernumeraries are unpaid. In each Court there is a Procurator Fiscal, who at Bologna, Ravenna, Ferrara and Forlì, has a salary of twenty-five crowns per month, and in the other Provinces only sixteen. There are likewise two Judges of inquest*, whose charge it is to investigate offences: they have twenty-five crowns a month. The Registrar of the Court for civil causes has twenty; the other minor officers receive most wretched pittances.

The independence of the judicial power is declared by the legislative and judiciary codes; but in the edict of July 5, 1831, are these words: "The Legate or Delegate, if and whenever he wishes it, may preside at the sittings of the Courts which try criminal causes, but without a voice." Thus the executive authority is enabled to exercise an influence, by presence and by speech, upon the conscience of the Judges.

The trials, both criminal and civil, are usually very long. There are two tribunals of appeal in the Provinces, one at Bologna, the other at Macerata. The provinces round about and near Rome have none of their own, and prosecute appeals in the metropolis. The Presidents of the Courts of Appeal have eighty crowns a month, the Judges seventy, the Procurator Fiscal forty. In Rome the Civil tribunals are distinct from the Criminal. Anciently the Pope was President of every Court; he took cognisance of and

* Giudici Processanti.

judged all the greater causes by means of the *Rota* and the *Segnatura*, and the minor ones by the Auditor of the Privy Chamber. When the system and forms of the State had been changed in some points, the Auditor of the Privy Chamber still continued; that is to say, the name continued, and the office, though the mere image of what has been, as is common in the Court of Rome, which is thought essentially incapable of shock or change. The Auditor of the Privy Chamber continued, then, to be a Judge; first he had a sub-auditor, then several assessors, then a civil and a criminal Congregation called the Congregations of the A. C. (Auditoris Cameræ). The civil Congregation is composed of three Prelates and three persons of the long robe; through an Assessor, it tries those minor causes, which in the Provinces are tried by Governors; it divides into two sections, of which the first judges in first instance, and the second in appeal. The Criminal Congregation, constituted in the same manner, is called the tribunal "*del Governo*."

The Sacred *Rota* of Rome is composed of twelve Prelates, called *Uditori*, and presided over by a Prelate-Dean, who is always of Cardinal's rank. It also divides into two Courts. The Government pays the Rota 25,000 crowns a-year, and four foreign Prelates sit in it, a privilege or custom, whichever it may be, reasonable perhaps in times when causes were remitted from foreign nations to this celebrated tribunal, but unreasonable now. Every Prelate *Uditore* maintains at his own cost an *Ajutante di Studio*, to whom he pays twenty crowns a month; besides this,

the litigant who gains his cause makes a present, proportioned to its importance, to the *Ajutante*, who draws up the judgment. Every *Uditore* has also two private Secretaries, to whom he pays about an hundred crowns a year. The cases are got up by the *Ajutante* and the private Secretaries, who conjointly frame the decision, and the Prelate *Uditore* brings it with him in writing to the meeting of the Court. And as the Court itself may be, and in fact often is, bare of legal learning, thus it comes about that these apprentices at law are in reality the judges. The assistants, the private secretaries, the advocates, and the other lawyers that transact business before the Sacred Rota are bound to wear the clerical dress, even if laymen; a strange usage, which accustoms men to masquerading, and makes the sacerdotal habit into the livery of a Court, the decoration of a trade. No discussion of the causes is permitted before the Tribunal, but the parties and Proctors visit each Prelate *Uditore* at his own domicile, for private information and discussion. The *Rota* has no written code of law; it has, for its basis and for the guidance of the Judges, only their conscience, their discretion, and the cases decided by the Court. It judges in second instance all the cases of Umbria, Sabina, and Comarca, if they exceed the sum of 500 crowns; and, in the third instance, the causes of the entire State when the judgments of the first and the second disagree. If resort is had to the *Rota* upon an incidental point, it can bring the entire cause before itself, and examine and decide it. The judgments are extremely long, because their

weight is not that of a definitive sentence, but of an opinion: even after ten decisions a new hearing may be granted, and the cause is not at an end until the word *expediatur* is pronounced. All the acts and decisions are in the Latin tongue. The *Uditori* of the *Rota* have always borne a good, frequently an excellent, character.

The Supreme Tribunal, termed the *Segnatura*, is composed of one Cardinal Prefect, seven Prelates with deliberative voice, one Prelate *Uditore*, and one *Uditore* of the long robe; and it gives judgment in civil causes upon the petitions for what is called *circoscrizione degli Atti**, and on questions of competency, and of replacing parties to a suit on their original footing. The *Segnatura* does not give definitive sentences as a Court of Cassation, but remits to the *Rota*. The Judges receive the slender stipend of fifty crowns a month. They have often been in doubtful or bad repute. A certain Monsignor Grossi, Dean of the Court, whose reputation had long been as bad as possible, forged a sentence in 1845. For this he was turned out, but with a pension of fifty crowns a month. The proceedings of this Tribunal are discretionary, like those of the Sacred *Rota*; there is no discussion in its presence, and the defences and decisions are in the Latin tongue.

The tribunal of the *Sagra Consulta* is composed of a Cardinal Prefect and of Prelates Relators, the number of whom is indeterminate. It separates into two divisions; one of these decides in appeal the

* A process bearing some analogy to special pleading.—Tr.

capital causes of the Provinces of Umbria, Sabina, and Comarca; the other, as a Supreme Court of Review, tries all appeals, against capital sentences only, delivered by any Court of the State. The right to claim a review is not granted for sentences other than capital. The Judges have a stipend of fifty crowns a month; they are, for the most part, young Prelates making their first steps in the career of public employment, or else they are persons that have miscarried elsewhere, or fallen into discredit. This Court also tries all the offences called political, of which I shall speak shortly, when I come to enlarge upon the exceptional and extraordinary tribunals.

In concluding this notice of the ordinary tribunals, I may remark that the Commercial Courts, which proceed according to the French Code of Commerce, amended in a few particulars, are composed of commercial men, wanting commonly any idea of commercial law, which is never taught and never studied. I must also notice, that causes between the Treasury and private persons are examined and decided by a congregation of Prelates who are Clerks of the Chamber to the Pope, with the Prelate who is Treasurer, or Minister of Finance, at their head.

I now come to the Exceptional Courts, a subject more serious and extensive.

The Court of the *Sacra Consulta* tries state offences. In the organic regulations for criminal procedure, dated 5 November, 1831, it is provided that in such cases the proceeding shall be *per via sommaria*, before Judges of inquest, specially appointed by the Secretary of State for the purpose; that the decision is

reserved to the *Sacra Consulta*, a tribunal charged with the direction and forms of procedure, according to the powers committed to it, or to be obtained by it, as circumstances may require, from time to time; that the Sovereign may commit the decision to other Courts; that the record may be communicated in abridgment to Monsignore the Advocate of the poor, or to the Counsel chosen by the accused, whenever the choice has been approved by the President of the tribunal; that, in the cases aforesaid, it is not permitted to confront the witnesses with the accused; that, when the tribunal has met, the accused shall appear, and the President shall examine him in order to obtain the necessary elucidations, after which he shall be sent back to prison. The judgment goes by the majority of votes, and is without appeal. In cases of condemnation to capital punishment, if the decision has not been unanimous, there may be a review before the second division of Judges combined with the first; it must take place within a period not exceeding five days, without the presence of the accused. From hence it is plain, that the deciding body is also that which inquires; and that the defence is not free, for this further reason, that the counsel for it is bound by oath not to make known to the accused the names of the witnesses against him; that likewise it is insufficient, because the accused may not confront the witnesses, nor be present at the pleadings, nor call witnesses in exculpation; that the sentences are not, in the majority of cases, liable to review; and that, when they are, a moiety of the

Judges in review have already committed themselves in the Court below.

The *Sacra Consulta* also examines and decides causes of the Woods and Forests, and of Public Health and quarantine. It at the same time directs in chief the departments of Public Health and of Prisons.

I omit any detailed remark on the exceptional political tribunals, which are known under the infamous name of Extraordinary Commissions, whether military or mixed, and which in the closing years of the reign of Gregory XVI. gave an unhappy notoriety to the names of a Freddi, a Fontana, a Barbieri, and others; men whose names my hand is loath to trace on paper.

The Court of the Holy Inquisition, or Holy Office, has a Supreme Congregation composed of Cardinals, and has also Inquisitors-General, Vicars and licensed attendants, with the ecclesiastical immunities; it spies, inquires, incarcerates, and sentences, secretly and without appeal, in matters of dogma and belief. To say the truth, this Holy Office of Rome, which, even in former times, never had the same ill fame for cruelty as the Spanish Inquisition, has not in our day made itself remarkable either for acts of ferocity or for multiplied annoyances. It should not, however, be passed by in silence, that in the Capital, and in the Provinces round it, and in the central Provinces (in the northern ones it did little or nothing), it has always in our time been warning, or worrying, or condemning, some layman or ecclesiastic. It has been said that, during the late troubles, proofs were found

of the share taken by the Holy Office in political inquisitions,—a thing which I do not assert because I do not know it for certain; this I know and affirm, that the Holy Office is a second Police, a second Government, I might say the very Sovereign of the Jews, who cannot stir unless the Father Inquisitor signs their passports, and are teased and vexed by his satellites with degrading contumely and infamous exactions.

The Cardinal Vicar at Rome, with the aid of Deputies and Assessors, and each Bishop in his own Diocese, assisted by his Vicar and some Assessors, try causes both criminal and civil. Their jurisdiction extends to the matters and the persons, that is, to all the controversies which affect properties either ecclesiastical, or administered by ecclesiastics, and to the persons of all clerks. Besides this, they have the whole police over morals, and try all the causes belonging to it. Thus the priesthood mixes with prostitutes, and with the abandoned race of beings that allure young women to a life of dissoluteness, or sell for money the flesh of their own offspring. Thus it has to pry into all the mysteries of foul and unlawful lusts; it loses in dignity, and is exposed to conflicts, from which frail human nature does not always issue scatheless: it comes to be the subject of suspicions, murmurs, and calumnies, nay, sometimes, of merited contumely, if it chances that the Censor, or judge of the deviation of others from morality, should solicit the honour of a woman, or if, through ignorant zeal, he cause scandal in families and in communities, by infusing unseasonable suspicions and discords, where

there has existed, if not the reality, the appearance of honourable and uncontaminated matrimony. The Episcopal Courts decide cases of seduction, or unlawful pregnancy, by the formula *aut dotet, aut nubat, aut ad triremes;* a formula and decision, which is highly convenient for knowing women, and a kind of judgment which, founding the family relation, as it often does, in coercion, strikes vitally at its moral principles, which are love, regard, and free-will.

The searches, inquisitions, and sentences for impurity are extremely frequent; but there is scarcely a case of a sentence for adultery. The Bishops imprison, fine, and otherwise punish, for blasphemy, and for disobeying the precepts of holidays and of fasting. In criminal causes, the Clerk has always the advantage of going into the Church Court; in civil causes, he may choose at his will either the temporal or the Church Court, and the Layman is bound to accept that which the Churchman chooses. From the Courts of the diocesan Bishop, there is an appeal to those of the Metropolitan, and from these last to two Congregations of Cardinals sitting in Rome, the one called that for Bishops and Regulars, and the other that of the Council: these give sentence in the last resort, without any opportunity for review or cassation.

Among the Ecclesiastical Courts are reckoned that of the fabric of St. Peter, composed of a Congregation which takes all bequests left by dying persons for the benefit of departed souls, and authorised to try all causes in that subject-matter: also the Congregation of Loreto, which tries the causes relating to the pro-

perties of the sanctuary of our Lady of Loreto: also the Court of the Office of Exchequer; that of the Prefect of the Sacred Palaces; and other like Congregations composed of Cardinals and Prelates.

The Papal State expends on public functionaries 1,366,510 crowns *per annum;* of these about 5,000 are Laymen, and about 300 Churchmen; the stipends of the first amount to about 1,100,000 crowns. The Clergymen holding public offices are not, however, paid solely with the money of the treasury, but further, and more, with rich ecclesiastical benefices, with Cardinals' allowances, Abbacies, Canonries at Rome, and even with pensions charged upon the benefices that ordinary priests enjoy. All the highest honours and ranks are reserved to the Clerical caste, and also the principal functions and authority of Government.

I conclude this summary by gathering under brief heads the different threads of my statement.

At the period of the death of Gregory XVI., the liberal sects could ill restrain their rancour and revenge. The Sanfedists played the bully as usual, and made harvest of the general stupidity.

That portion of the Liberals, which was called Moderate, formed schemes for meeting misgovernment by legal opposition and obstruction, by the press, and by civil fortitude. The upright and prudent part of the Pope's adherents recognised the necessity of some reform.

The native troops were few, ill disciplined, ill paid, ill to be depended on. The foreign regiments were good and effective, but envied by the native force,

disliked by the people, and a heavy charge to the treasury.

Commerce was limited; there was no extensive branch of industry; smuggling was organised, and stronger than the fiscal authority.

The Police was arbitrary, and persecuted the Liberals; but neither town nor country was secure from gangs of villains ill kept down.

There were no statistics, and all the Departments were badly arranged. The taxes and the duties were heavy and ill allotted, because they fell almost exclusively on property. The tax upon corn ground was particularly hateful at some places in Umbria and the Marches. The growth of public wealth was thwarted by indifferent civil and economic laws, by the prohibition of railways, and by reason that the great estates could so rarely change hands.

Codes there were none. Citizens were not equal in the eye of the law, and exemptions and privileges abounded; while the administration of justice was entangled, slow, costly, and uncertain.

The public debt was between 37,000,000 and 38,000,000 of crowns; there was an annual deficit of about half a million of crowns; no audits, and no account rendered by the financial administration.

Instruction and education were inadequate in everything, religion included: it was all husk, no substance. To the intelligent youth the career of arms was closed, because it was without honour or enterprise, and was contaminated by foreign mercenaries. So was that of diplomacy, as it was the monopoly of the

Clergy: the same with politics, the administrative offices, and the magistracy, because clergymen alone could touch the goal of the highest ranks and honours.

The Censorship of the Press, and of foreign books and journals, was harsh and bigotted to a strange degree.

Thousands upon thousands of citizens were what is called *under warning:* these were interdicted from all offices of honour or emolument, whether under the Government or in the Municipalities.

The number of families who, after 1831, were persecuted for political causes, by the Government or the Sanfedists, was very great. The exiles, with those proscribed and under sentence, amounted perhaps to two thousand.

The Military Commissions were permanent.

Aids and amendments of civilisation were disliked or neglected.

The higher nobility of Rome, its Dukes and Princes, revered the Papacy, as an institution to which they owed their fortune, rank, and ancient privileges; but they were not friendly to the absolute sway of the sacerdotal caste, distinguished neither for diligence, learning, or virtue. The provincial nobility were either disinclined or positively hostile to the Papal Government, or else indifferent about it. In the Provinces not a few nobles had joined in plots.

The burgher class, independent in fortune and circumstances, was limited at Rome, and not attached to the Government: the clients and retainers

of Cardinals and Prelates were numerous; so were the traffickers in abuses. There were plenty of court-followers, censorious and double-faced; an effeminate crowd, voluptuous and effete, servile to its masters, but without heart, without honour, without spirit.

The artisans and lower class in Rome were perhaps attached to the Pontiff, but little to the Prince, and to the Government not at all; they were proud of the Roman name, uncivilised, and quarrelsome. In the provincial towns, the populace had mingled in the sects, and were daring partisans. The country people were everywhere peaceful, devoted to the Head of their religion, reverent to the priesthood, only discontented at paying too much.

The minor Clergy, whether of the capital or of the provinces, was single-minded, little instructed, given to complain of the abuses at Rome, and of the badness of the Government, and, with few exceptions, neither turbulent nor immoral; but that portion of it, more foreign than Roman, which lives and fattens, or hopes to live and fatten, upon abuses and on power and honours, was false, hypocritical, sectarian, and factious too as occasion served.

In a word, the Government was far from strong in the attachment of its subjects, or in public opinion.

Abroad it was the object of sharp reproach, and of sarcasm; its character was exceeding bad; the world believed that there must be fresh troubles, and that prompt and substantial reforms were required. The diplomatic body stood in dread of insurrection and revolution.

BOOK II.

HISTORY AND DOCUMENTS FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY XVI. TO THE PROMULGATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL STATUTE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVE. — CARDINAL LAMBRUSCHINI. — CARDINAL MASTAI FERRETTI. — ELECTION OF PIUS IX. ON JUNE 16. 1846. — DOUBTFUL STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION. — FIRST ACTS OF THE NEW PONTIFF. — ANTICIPATIONS OF AN AMNESTY. — EDICT OF AMNESTY. — CONSEQUENT HILARITY AND REJOICINGS. — FORM OF DECLARATION FOR PERSONS AMNESTIED. — GREGORIANS AND PIANS.

Upon the news of the death of Gregory XVI., the excited mind of the public was on the alert for new and unwonted occurrences. Those, indeed, were few who thought of creating disturbance, seeing that the greater part hoped and prognosticated, that the new Pontiff, alive to the miseries of the former reign, and to the exigencies of the times, would incline to a less ill-advised and less harsh administration. The Sacred College, when the charge of public affairs had been lodged in its hands, governed, as is usual, through medium of such Cardinals as were respectively Dean, Financier, and Heads of the three orders respectively; the obsequies of the deceased Pontiff, extending through nine days, were appointed; and the Conclave

was convoked. Monsignor Savelli was sent, as Commissioner Extraordinary, to govern the Legations, instead of the Cardinal Legates; a Corsican by extraction, and a person reputed to be well qualified to retain them in their allegiance. There went indeed before him a character for avarice, rapacity, and harshness. There were stories of his having adopted a determination, at the time when he was Vicar to Cardinal Giustiniani, the Bishop of Imola, that persons guilty of blaspheming should have their tongues bored. It was also said that, when he afterwards became Delegate, he took bribes from the farmers of the state revenues; and, furthermore, that once, when a criminal condemned to death would not settle the concerns of his soul, Savelli, as Delegate, induced him to receive the consolations of religion by presenting fifty crowns to his wife, which, when the sentence had been executed, he took away from her in her bereavement; and that the Pope was so indignant at this proceeding, that he both fined the Monsignore in twice that amount for the benefit of the poor woman, and deprived him of his office.

The moderate Liberals, whose fixed intention it was not to be led into any act of perverseness, and to pursue reform by legal methods, did not allow themselves to be cast down by the sinister reputation and the frowning aspect of the new Governor of the Legations, nor by the excesses of the Military Commissions; and they determined to petition. Some thought they ought to address the Cardinals in conclave; some, the new Pontiff; but all agreed in the resolu-

tion taken, and Bologna was already at work in giving effect to it. Osimo entreated its very benevolent Bishop, Cardinal Soglia, to plead the cause of leniency and civil reforms; and in other places the citizens most conspicuous for property, knowledge, and virtue, were preparing their complaints and requests. In the meantime the foreign ambassadors and ministers resorted to their usual practices to find means of influencing the election of the Pope, and, apprehensive as they were of disturbances, some sent for ships of war into the Mediterranean, and others took their measures in other forms. It was thought, and rumoured about, that Cardinal Lambruschini might probably be elected, as the man to whom many of the Cardinals owed their rank and fortune, and who had, both in court and city, a multitude of partisans that were hard at work in his favour. These got about the foreign ambassadors and ministers to pry, suggest, and gain support; and I knew of one that tried to get Rossi, the French Ambassador, on his side, but being awkward, let the other, who was most acute, discover his intentions and intrigues, and so made himself ridiculous and lost his time.

When the Sacred College is assembled for business, prudence outweighs in it both private inclination and party spirit, in a much greater degree than is commonly believed; and, in fact, there were in this Conclave some who sagely advised them to elect for Pope a native of the State, and one not much advanced in years; others stated plainly the necessity for correcting abuses and for making some reforms,

and, with this view, for electing a Pontiff whose mind and will were equal to it. The one recommendation directly, and the other indirectly, weakened the party of Lambruschini, yet not to such an extent as to prevent his obtaining many more votes in the first scrutiny than any other Cardinal; indeed enough to render his election probable. But the Cardinals opposed to him combined together, and made a party for Cardinal Mastai Ferretti. He was born at Sinigallia on the 13th of May, 1792, of a noble and much respected family, and had been trained and instructed by the Fathers of the order of the Scolopi, in the College of Volterra, where he boarded from 1803 to 1809. Being at Rome in 1815, he made application in the month of June for admittance into the corps of the Pope's Guard of nobles; which he failed to obtain in consequence of his infirm health, subject as he was to suffer from epileptic fits. In May 1816 he assumed the ecclesiastical habit, and applied to the study of theology, in which he had for his teacher the pious and learned priest Graziosi. In 1818 he went to his native place, Sinigallia, upon a missionary tour, in company with Monsignor Odescalchi, who was afterwards Cardinal, and died a Jesuit. After his return to Rome, he asked to be ordained priest, and it was granted, on condition that he should say mass only in private and with a priest-assistant; because he still continued delicate in health. But he afterwards improved to such a degree, that, after he had celebrated his first mass on Easter Day, 1819, he was not for a long time troubled by his accustomed malady. He then

became coadjutor to a stall in the Collegiate Church of *S. Maria in Via Lata*, and President of the Hospital of Tata Giovanni for poor lads: in these offices he distinguished himself by a remarkable piety, and left an excellent example and reputation. In 1823 he went to Chili in the capacity of secretary with Monsignor Muzi, who was dispatched thither on account of some questions affecting the clergy; and he not only filled his office well, but also preached and gave instruction in the truths of the Gospel. In 1825 he returned to Rome, and was appointed to govern the Apostolic Hospital of *San Michele a Ripa*. He deserved well of that establishment, and grew so much in reputation, that in 1827, Leo XII. named him Archbishop of Spoleto. Next, Gregory XVI. sent him to Imola as Bishop in 1832, and announced his name as Cardinal in December, 1840. On June 16, 1846, after the See had been vacant for sixteen days, and the Conclave had been sitting only for two, he was elected Pope upon the evening scrutiny, and he took the name of Pius IX.

The curiosity of the populace always induces them to crowd to the *Piazza del Quirinale* when the Conclave is sitting, in order to observe the smoke that issues from one of the chimneys when they burn the tickets, which have been used in scrutinies leading to no result. On the evening of the 16th, they did not perceive the *fumata*, as it is called, and they concluded that an election had been made. At the same time there went abroad, no one knows how, a report that the new Pope was Cardinal Gizzi, who was in

credit and esteemed, because, as compared with the Cardinals Vannicelli and Massimo, he had governed his province well, and had been praised for it by Massimo d'Azeglio in his tract upon the events of Romagna. This report caused great joy in Rome.

The happy intelligence spread through the neighbouring districts, and came as far as Ceccano, the native place of Cardinal Gizzi, where his family was complimented with visits of congratulation. When on the morning of the 17th the new Pope was announced in the accustomed manner from the great balcony of the Quirinal, the public mind was thrown into suspense. It had at first unbent itself to rejoicing at the supposed election of Cardinal Gizzi, who was in esteem as a prudent administrator, whereas its judgment was necessarily at fault respecting Bishop Mastai, as he was unknown in matters of government. And when, on the following day, Pius IX. repaired, according to custom, to the Vatican, to give thanks to the Most High, and again on the day of his inthronisation, which was the 21st, the public demonstrations were not materially different from those which the Roman people usually makes on such occasions. This suspense of the public mind was moreover prolonged, because the new Pontiff delayed to name a Secretary of State, and appointed, instead, a Provisional Consultative Commission of Government, in which, by the side of the beloved and esteemed Cardinals Amat and Gizzi, there sat Bernetti, Lambruschini, and Monsignor Marini, Governor of Rome. But hopeful anticipations were shortly revived by

some proceedings of Pius IX. For not to mention that he limited the expenses of his Court, and dispensed alms in abundance, he caused it to be made known, that on Thursday of each week he would give audiences: he likewise commanded that political inquisitions should stop at once, and gave other signs of a gentle and generous mind. As wretchedness makes the smallest gift seem great, so the subjects of the Pope opened their eyes at these twinklings of light, as to the dawn of brighter destinies; they cheered themselves by gazing on the tranquil and majestic countenance of the Pontiff; they commented, with eager care, on every amiable and noble word that was said to have issued from his mouth; they magnified every act of clemency, of charity, or of justice. And when some persons of his household or court began to circulate the report (for there is no court with more gossip than that of the Pope), that Pius IX. thought of conceding a general amnesty for political offences, the hearts of men, that sadness had long oppressed, opened themselves to joy; and there appeared to exist, if I may use the expression, a tacit and guileless conspiracy of the popular will to be content with small things, and to caress and coax the Pontiff, in order to gain him to itself. And as the people of the Roman States, even in the most unhappy times and under the worst Popes, have been used to lay upon the Cardinals, rather than on the Pontiff, the blame of every thing bad, so it happened then; it was trumpeted about, that Pius IX. was disposed to pardon, but was obstructed by Cardinals Lambrus-

chini and Bernetti, and by Monsignor Marini. In reference to this subject of the murmurs injurious to the Sacred College, and the inveterate irreverence towards it, I feel bound to observe, that these have frequently been destitute of any foundation in truth and justice, and then were so; seeing that, as every one admitted that it ought to have been seen, to make parade beforehand of a conciliatory act is a besotted policy. I am well aware that the masses cannot at a moment's notice divest themselves of the habits, good or bad, that they have insensibly acquired; nor will I speak of the political discernment of those who cannot have any; what I wish is, to draw attention to those politicians, who, at the outset of the Pontificate of Pius IX., and afterwards, have progressively more and more attached themselves, and have sought to attach others, to the idea that it was practicable to bring about harmony between the Papacy and freedom, between the laity and the priesthood, and who notwithstanding were all day reviling and disparaging the Sacred College; as if the man that was Pope in July had not been Cardinal in June; as if the Pope had not ties binding him by oath, affection, and duty to the Cardinals; and as if these last could bear unmoved every kind of contumely, with the virtue of angels, and without a single emotion of natural resentment.

It was true that Pius IX. was desirous of pardoning political offences, and that he had propounded the question of the amnesty before the Provisional Consultative Commission. But that was false, as I know

for certain, which was said then and afterwards, namely, that one portion of his advisers was indiscriminately opposed to any plan of mercy whatsoever. Their counsels were divided, but upon this point only, that some proposed a general amnesty, while others wished to proceed gradually and with caution. Both the one and the other opinion had arguments in its favour. For the first there were these: the difficulty of classifying, and of judging, in the case of political sentences pronounced by exceptional courts and processes, whether those most recently condemned may not already have suffered too much, and may not have deserved to suffer less than the older; the fact that acts of mercy to individuals so readily assume the appearance of favouritism and create a suspicion of partiality; that a general amnesty would soften many obdurate hearts, and give consolation to many families; that it would be a brilliant stroke, that the new reign ought to begin with brilliancy, and that no brighter ray than this could descend from the supreme seat of pardon. The second opinion was supported by such arguments as these: that it was a dangerous matter to restore to liberty and their country such very large numbers of persons who had been habitually engaged in organising sedition; that it might well be offensive to the friends of the government to see those men free, whom only a few months before they saw in arms against their Sovereign; that it was no brief or light task to distinguish between the genuine political exiles, and the assassins of the sects; that a first step might be taken in the path of

clemency by extending mercy to such of them as had been chastened by age, by experience, and by length of punishment; that all petitions for mercy might be received, and a facility shown in granting it when petitioned for; that it ought not to be forgotten, that the sects had never ceased from their activity, and, even at that moment, it was not at all certain that they were laying down their arms; that they would be powerfully reinforced by exiles, who had lived in free countries, feeding upon the ideas of the day, and adepts in revolution: in a word, that a general amnesty might expose the public peace to serious hazard. It is needless to give an opinion whether the one or the other view was more prudent or more generous; enough, that Pius IX. embraced the alternative most agreeable to his own elevated nature. I say that reason of State itself, that reason which frames itself upon permanent principles, and is not ever quivering (as if upon stilts), with misgiving, which does not lose itself in the peddling analysis of details, but embraces the broader aspects of a question, and catches their true meaning, made the large scheme also the better one. For the question was not merely how to assuage the sorrows of individuals, relieve private distress, and perform an act of indulgence and of charity: this question of amnesty was a loftier and a deeper one. It was intended to be the harbinger of a new system; it was meant to signify a reconstruction of the very basis of civil authority. Such it was intrinsically, and such it was understood by the world to be, as was in due

time clearly proved by the marvellous results which it at once produced, and most of all by that peal of harmonious applause with which it was universally hailed. Of such applause, on a like occasion, history does not, and probably never will, offer another example.

On the 16th of July, one month after the election of the new Pope, two hours before sunset, the manifesto of amnesty was published in Rome. It ran as follows: —

"PIUS IX.—To his most faithful subjects, Health and Apostolic benediction.

"During the days when the public rejoicing on our exaltation to the Pontificate touched Us to the depth of our heart, We could not restrain an emotion of grief, while reflecting that not a few families among our subjects were kept back from sharing in the general joy, because, in the loss of their domestic consolations, they were made to bear a great portion of the punishment, which only some one member of the family had deserved, by offences against the order of society, or the lawful rights of the Sovereign. We furthermore turned a pitying eye upon the numbers of inexperienced youths, who, although drawn by alluring flatteries into the vortex of political disorders, yet appeared to us less as seducers than seduced. On which account, from that time forward, We have been considering whether to stretch out our hand, and to tender peace of mind, to those of our erring children who might be disposed to give evidence of their sincere repentance. The affection that our good subjects have shown towards Us, and the incessant tokens of veneration that the Holy See has, in our Person, received from them, have now persuaded Us, that We may pardon them without danger to the public at large. We accordingly determine and command,

that the opening of our Pontificate be signalised by the following acts of sovereign clemency: —

"I. To all our subjects now actually in a place of punishment for political offences, We remit the remainder of their sentences, provided they make in writing a solemn declaration that they will never, in any manner, abuse this favour, but that they desire faithfully to fulfil all the duties of good subjects.

"II. Upon the same condition, all our subjects who have quitted our dominions for political reasons may return to them, provided that they shall make known in a proper manner, within one year from the publication of the present decree, and through the Apostolic Nuncios, their desire to avail themselves of this act of our clemency.

"III. We, in like manner, discharge those who, on account of having taken part in any machination against the state, are either bound by the *precetti politici*, or declared incapable of municipal office.

"IV. It is our intention that all criminal proceedings for offences purely political, which have not yet been completed by a formal judgment, shall abate and determine; and that the parties under charge be set free, unless any among them should ask for the continuation of the trial, in the hope of making his innocence clear, and recovering his rights accordingly.

"V. It is not, however, our intention to comprise within the provisions of the foregoing articles that very small number of ecclesiastics, military officers, and civil servants who have been sentenced, or have fled, or are under process, for political offences. In regard to these, We reserve it to ourselves to take other measures, as the examination of their respective cases may show it to be advisable.

"VI. Neither, in like manner, is it our will that in this indulgence should be included ordinary crimes, with which political culprits, refugees, or prisoners on trial may be further charged; as, in regard to these, We intend that the existing laws shall have full effect.

"We would willingly trust that those, who shall avail themselves of our mercy, will know at all times how to respect both our rights and their own honour. We moreover hope that, with minds softened by our pardon, they will be ready to lay down those intestine resentments, which are always related, either as cause or as effect, to political passions: so that all the children of a common Father may be truly reunited in that bond of peace, in which it is the will of God that they should be mutually joined. But should our hopes in any degree be frustrated, We shall then, with whatever bitterness of pain to ourselves, constantly recollect, that if mercy be the most pleasurable attribute of sovereignty, justice is its first duty.

"Given in Rome, at S. Maria Maggiore, on the 16th of July, 1846, in the first year of our Pontificate.

"PIUS PP. IX."

When the intelligence of this amnesty had flown through Rome, and when its conciliatory language had been perused, it seemed as though a ray from the love of God had unexpectedly descended upon the Eternal City. The Hosannas were countless; the Ninth Pius was hailed as a deliverer; each citizen embraced his neighbour as a brother; thousands upon thousands of torches blazed at even; and, as if the full tide of all those tender affections, which are the godlike part of man, had burst its banks, the multitude, driven by an involuntary impulse towards the palace of the Pontiff, called for him; venerated him, themselves prostrate on the earth; and received his blessing in devout silence. No human tongue can adequately paint that festival of their souls, nor do I aim at descriptive language, for fear I should do dishonour to its sanctity. Quick as thought, the news,

and these solemnities of love and gratitude, flew to the farthest confines of the State; the record of them, which is ill-retained by the forgetful heart of man, was in many cases inscribed on marble. I do not dwell upon the ovations celebrated for Pius IX. in Rome, on the 19th; upon the notes of exultation everywhere sounded, echoed, and prolonged. And why should I describe the shows? These, whether the rejoicings be genuine and spontaneous, as in the present instance, or got up at the word of command, are the same. Why should I tell of all the contrivances of the public joy? The tale is true; the proceeding was sincere: the shortest and simplest record is the best. Without such detail, I shall have in these pages but too much to say of merry-making and display.

The Pope had pronounced his amnesty subject to this condition only,—that those pardoned should give their word of honour, never to abuse the indulgence, and to fulfil with fidelity every duty of a good citizen. With this view was composed the form that I annex:—

"I, the undersigned, owning that I have received an extraordinary favour in the pardon generously and spontaneously conceded to me by the clemency of the Supreme Pontiff, Pius IX., my lawful Sovereign, in respect of any part taken by me, after whatsoever manner, in the attempts which have disturbed public order, and attacked the authority regularly established within his temporal dominions, do promise, on my word of honour, never in any manner to abuse this act of his Sovereign mercy; and I pledge myself hereby to fulfil with fidelity all the duties of a good and loyal subject."

A formula like this, strained, perhaps, through the alembics of the legal profession, did not appear altogether to correspond with the generous spirit of the amnesty. But still all those persons who were confined in gaol subscribed it at once, and were thereupon set free, amidst manifestations of affection and pleasure from the public. Among these was Galletti of Bologna, who had been sentenced to imprisonment for life, and was kept in the Castle of Sant' Angelo. At the feet of the Pontiff, he swore by the heart's blood of himself and his children, that he would be grateful and faithful; and he made himself conspicuous by declaring, through the press, the strongest sentiments of that kind. The exiles returned home with more or less expedition, subscribing the declaration recited above. General Armandi printed a letter with supererogatory professions. Mamiani, Canuti, and Pepoli did not follow the general example: in the course of time they re-entered the States, promising allegiance; but they would not accept that portion of the formula, which implied a sort of confession of past guilt. It was even then hinted that one or two Nuncios, one or two of the Papal Consuls in foreign parts, and one or two governors within the States, showed displeasure at the amnesty, and were not over liberal of those good offices, on behalf of the persons indulged, for which the occasion called. This was true in part; but it was exaggerated. Cardinal Vannicelli, indeed, addressed to the governors, from Bologna, whither he had returned as Legate, circular despatches, in which he deformed, with the coarse phrases of the police,

the graceful language of the Pontiff. On the other hand, not a few exiles returned into the country without observing the required formalities, and no one watched or warned them. In this state of things, there were soon noticed certain signs of an ill disposition, and certain greater signs both of remissness in the government and of an unruly temper in the people. Still, speaking generally, all orders of citizens vied with one another in testifying a kindly disposition, and in giving succour to those who had taken advantage of the amnesty. The Liberals made public rejoicings on their return home. Nay, there were festivities in Rimini, before the vile acts of the man were known, even for that Renzi, who had turned informer, and who afterwards, detected and repudiated by his friends, sunk into infamy.

At the time when the Liberals were thus rising up from their long prostration, and all honourable men were auguring, from those first mild days, the advent of secure and tranquil times, the faction of the Sanfedists, the Centurions, all traders in abuses, and the detested inquisitors, who had been connected either as judges or as tools with the Military Commissions, were cut to their very souls with anger and spleen: nor could they refrain from manifesting the obstinacy of sectarian passions, by censuring the merciful and civilised measures of the new government, and depreciating that name of Pius IX., that was coupled with blessings on the lips of so many whom he had consoled. Nay, they were not in all cases content with censures upon the acts, which showed that State policy

was about to take a new direction, or with those scurrilities against the Sovereign, in which they vented their disordered minds. For there were among them reprobates, who made bold to raise questions, some upon the honesty of the Pontiff others upon the regularity of his election, and who employed themselves in worrying the consciences of the simple-minded with every kind of falsehood. For these reasons, and from that ingrained habit in our towns of forming political parties and giving them names, all those of whom I have just been speaking came to be called Gregorians, and all the friends of change, of reforms, and of the benignant Pontiff, were called Pians. The name of Gregory became a by-word of abuse, but that of Pius, with his likeness, and the colours on his shield, became the fashion. Besides these, there were a thousand of those little follies through which people lose their senses, and in jest, and unawares, fan the accursed flame of civil discord, and keep ever fresh the griefs and the gashes of humanity.

CHAP. II.

CARDINAL GIZZI, SECRETARY OF STATE.—APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONS. — CIRCULAR OF AUGUST 24TH. — TARDY AND HESITATING POLICY. — APPLAUSE AND ADULATION. — THE JESUIT FATHERS IN ROME. — THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR. — THE MINISTERS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND. — FESTIVITIES OF SEPTEMBER 8. — CICERUACCHIO. — SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS AT GENOA. — PRINCE OF CANINO. — TUMULTS ABOUT GRAIN. — INUNDATION OF THE TIBER. REJOICINGS.—ENCOMIASTIC AND ADULATORY WRITINGS.—SERIOUS WRITINGS. — APPOINTMENT OF MORE COMMISSIONS. — A FEW PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES DISPLACED. — DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE CENTENARY DAY OF THE EXPULSION OF THE AUSTRIANS FROM GENOA.

On the 8th of August, Cardinal Pasquale Gizzi was named Secretary of State, to the great satisfaction of the public, because he was reputed a friend to reform, and sincerely attached to the Pontiff.

Nothing is more difficult to take in hand, more hazardous to conduct, or more doubtful in issue, than the introduction of new measures in a country, where there has been on one side a prolonged and pertinacious resistance to change, on the other, a strong desire, and even a factious craving, for it. Pius IX. and Cardinal Gizzi, aware of these difficulties and dangers, and by nature given to hesitate, would not proceed in haste, for fear of furnishing matter rather for quarrel than for union, and accordingly they conducted themselves rather with a view to inspiring the innovators with a persuasion of their disposition to effect reforms, than so as to exas-

perate, by real and prompt acts of reformation, those who were averse to them. For this purpose it was, that they nominated commissions to deliberate and advise upon many and very various subjects; and that Cardinal Gizzi wrote letters of the 24th of August, to the Presidents of the Provinces, directing them to invite the municipal magistracies, the ecclesiastics, and all respectable citizens, to consider and suggest the most suitable schemes for popular education, and especially for the moral, religious, and industrial instruction of the children of the poor. But this practice of talking much and doing little, of showing a disposition to innovate, and letting all plans of change be strained through a series of discussions and of congregations, was not good for the Pontifical State. Whether because this country was too far behind others in the path of civilisation, or because the people had too little patience and too sanguine anticipations, such a method of proceeding begot an excess of hopes on the one side, and of apprehensions on the other, and left open that boundless field of conjecture, over which the mind of man, when eager in expectation, wanders without a guide. Already the Liberals had conceived boundless desires, and the Retrogradists were haunted with unreasonable fear. The Government had, to-day, to moderate on the left; to-morrow, to re-assure on the right; then, with fresh circular dispatches, well nigh to scold men for hoping too much, and, in seeming at least, to contradict and stultify itself, and to lose its presence of mind. Where there was no practical evil,

they did wrong to entertain the idea of change, for change implies disorder; but where disorder really existed, there they should have made changes with decision and promptitude, and with the conviction, that the less they left of the old, the less they would leave of the bad. Acts were wanted more than words, and acts springing from themselves. It is a vile and a mischievous whim, and one very common in Italy, to affect originality in the matter of civil provisions and institutions, rather than prudent imitation. So, while time is wasted upon dissertations and theories, the moment for reform passes, and destiny drags along the rulers and the ruled. Great, indeed, was the need, in the Pontifical States, of regulations, laws, and codes; but for the very reason that the need was great, and as great as the desire, it would have been right, without interposing any delay, to bring into operation, provisionally at least, what had been tried elsewhere with the best success. By proceeding thus, many subjects of dispute would have been wholly got rid of; and the formation of a polity might have been begun, that would have resembled other States, at least in respect to the more elementary institutions of modern civilisation. A genuine reformer of States brings his plan to ripeness of himself, in secrecy, and with advisers few and trusted; he plants its basis, he adjusts and harmonises its details, he fixes its extent; he then moves forward with decision, makes his way through all impediments, and when he has gained the end he had resolved upon, he opposes an inflexible resistance to those who would drive him further.

From the earliest period, the more clear-sighted persons were aware of this want of well-digested and defined ideas; but still the comparison that was drawn between the spirit which was seen to animate the present reign and that of former times, the tolerance of the Government, and the singular goodness of the Sovereign, imparted satisfaction and cheerfulness to the multitude. Every little act of good was magnified and exalted to the skies; what was bad remained without notice; every one took a pleasure in the very act of blinding himself and others; public opinion learnt the accents of a Court.

If the Pope revived the Academy of the Lincei*, the members of the Arcadia chanted Marvellous! even as though he were opening a parliament of civilisation for the world. If he permitted industrial associations, evening schools, infant asylums, reading-rooms, it seemed a miracle. If he gave it to be understood that he did not object to scientific meetings, the crowd of the half-learned, to whom this puffing age distributes chaplets, blew the trumpet of Fame forthwith. There was a kind of plot to make soft speeches and keep holiday, in which all were implicated. Perhaps the very Prince, too, was self-deceived, and exulted in the universal exultation, with the reverent homage that was paid him by his subjects, by all Italy, and by strangers. Louis Philippe, King of the French, sent his son, the

* The earliest scientific society in Italy, and, I believe, in Europe; founded in 1603 by Galileo. The Arcadia is an academy or society of poets; 'pastori Arcadi,' as they call themselves.

Prince de Joinville, to congratulate and pay compliments; men of the first distinction came from far to see him and to admire him; all the journals sang as it were one chorus of his praises; every man that did not do the like, and join in the general rejoicing, was pointed at with the finger.

The Jesuit Fathers, who had not shown themselves so desirous as the other religious orders to celebrate the amnesty, still thought fit to give signs of satisfaction on the 1st of September, by appointing to be held in the Church of Sant' Ignazio a grand literary assembly, under the title of the "Triumph of Mercy." But there were murmurs in the city, both at the lateness of this demonstration, and at some compositions or other which were read on the occasion. The current of opinion did not run in favour of this famous congregation; whether on account of ancient quarrels, or of the recent events in France and Switzerland, or of the accusations, some new, and others in a new dress, that the illustrious Gioberti had brought against them in his book entitled the *Prolegomeni del Primato.* The Jesuits were reputed to be enemies to reform, and no friends to Pius IX.; hence they were believed to be the soul and the prop of the Gregorian party. It was further rumoured, that these Reverend Fathers were in the good graces of the Austrian Ambassador, who, as was natural, regarded with misgivings so much festive commotion, tending, as it did, to strengthen that spirit of national independence, which during the years immediately preceding had been evinced in the

productions of our writers, in the acts of the Sardinian Court, and in the general conversation of cultivated persons. Add, that strange reports were in circulation; that the Pope had given it to be understood that he was considering how to expel the stranger from Italy; and that in some towns, amidst the rejoicings for the amnesty, there was uttered a cry of "Away with the stranger!" upon which the Government did not make an example of the offender. On the other hand, the French Ambassador assured the Pope that the Government of Louis Philippe witnessed with the utmost satisfaction its acts of clemency, and hoped that they would be followed up by reforms calculated to improve the condition of the country, and to give it for the future stability and repose. The English Ministers, likewise, in Tuscany and in Piedmont, gratified with the new direction which public affairs were taking in the Roman States, transmitted to London opinions and information, by which they made it plain that they, with their Government, were favourable to large reforms. In the meantime, the friends of change were, for the most part, measured in their wishes and prudent in their proceedings; for all prudent men were exerting themselves strenuously to keep the impatient in hand, with excellent effect, and to the general satisfaction. The mind of the Pontiff drew support from these considerations; and although in the Court he found many and serious impediments to his progress, and heard a great deal said about liberal precipitancy and subversive designs, yet confidence on the whole was

stronger than misgiving, and he too appeared to yield himself to the general joy.

On the 8th of September, the day of the Nativity of the Virgin, he repaired to the church that is dedicated to her in the *Piazza del Popolo*. The whole *Corso* was astonishingly decorated. The likenesses of the Pope, and panegyrical compositions by hundreds, covered the walls. A triumphal arch had been erected at the extremity of the street nearest the *Piazza*. The statue of the Pontiff rose in the middle of it: and on the sides were two *bas-reliefs*, in one of which the amnesty was symbolically represented; in the other, the Sovereign giving public audience. Angelo Brunetti, known under the name of Ciceruacchio, signalised himself in getting up and managing this popular celebration, which was more imposing than any former one. Already in the earliest public demonstrations, having many bound to him by affection and by favours conferred, he had made himself conspicuous among the leaders of the people. He was a person of single mind, rustic in manners, proud and at the same time generous, as is common with Romans of the lower class. Industrious and persevering, he had amassed something like a fortune; by his generosity and charities, he had gained a species of primacy among the men of his own class, who let out carriages, kept pot-houses, and such like small dealers; he now put these men on their mettle, and fired them with his own enthusiasm for Pius IX.

The Sovereign signified his satisfaction with all this; for he frequently went out from his palace,

welcomed these ovations with smiles on his countenance, and gave his blessing to the assembled people. On the 29th of September, he repaired to the Hospital of San Michele at Ripa Grande; in October, to Albano, Castel Gandolfo, Tivoli, and Frascati; in Rome, he paid visits to Hospitals for the Sick, Basilicas, Monasteries, and charitable foundations, everywhere hailed and followed by an applauding crowd. In the same month, he appointed a Commission, which was charged to examine into the best method of civil administration, and of forming a Council of Ministers.

The Scientific Congress for Italy met that year in Genoa. The differences between King Charles Albert and Austria had revived the ancient hopes of national independence; the amnesty, and the measures of Pius IX. which followed it, had begotten hopes of freedom. Thus the two most powerful and generous emotions, which can warm the soul of man, were astir together; one of them through the acts of an Italian King, the other through the Pontiff. In this manner was gradually engendered that peculiar mood of public opinion, which is commonly the precursor of great crises. A report went abroad, that the meeting was to enjoy in Genoa, with the good will of Charles Albert, an unusual freedom both in speaking and printing; and this was true. From all parts of the country, a great number of Italians congregated at Genoa, with the Congress for cause or plea; some of them men of science, and others not. It seemed as if a parliament of all the cultivated and living part of

the nation. And in truth, both in the public halls, and yet more in private company, they debated, like a Parliament, about civil progress, about reforms, about liberty and the Italian revival. Not one, perhaps, had gone to Genoa to plot, but all were plotting unawares; not, indeed, in the dark and after the manner of factions, but by their intelligence, by their language, by all lawful and honourable means, they were publicly conspiring for the legitimate purpose of raising up their country from her fall; and it was but natural that this should happen, when it seemed we had a Pope and a King for our brother conspirators. It was the first occasion on which the subjects of the Papacy were able to resort with security to the Congress. Carlo Luciano, Prince of Canino, as a Prince of the Roman State — for which dignity he had all but renounced the glories of the name of a Napoleon — had always had the power of frequenting them. On this occasion, forgetting his ancient alliance with the Gregorian Cardinals, he came to Genoa, ran wild in praise of Pius IX., and gave it to be understood, that he was commissioned to invite the men of science to hold a meeting in the Papal States. An accomplished and famous naturalist, he was not content with the sittings at which the natural sciences were discussed, but he went everywhere, held forth everywhere, turned the conversation to politics, lauded Pius IX., insulted the memory of Gregory, and grumbled about the Jesuits. With the Pope he joined Charles Albert, from whom, even at the period when the Liberals were not wont to sing his praise, he had

sought and obtained the honour of his becoming godfather to a child of his named after that Prince; and he abused Austria and Metternich, although they had harboured and entertained him alone of all his tribe. At Genoa this strange individual began his career as a notable busybody in theatrical politics.

In December of that year, 1846, a century, since the memorable expulsion of the Austrians from Genoa, was completed. That assemblage of Italians in the strong city, those acts of Charles Albert tending towards independence, that dawn of liberty which had broken over the Vatican, that liberal Pontiff foreshadowed by Gioberti,—all revived the recollection of the Genoese achievement of a century ago: the Italians made pilgrimages to the rock of Portoria, as if it had been to the altar of Pontida. There sprang up in Genoa a design of commemorating throughout Italy, by some public demonstration, the anniversary of the glory of the city, as an augury of that of the nation. From causes like these, the idea of independence came to be no longer bounded by the sphere of letters and of academies, but went abroad among the people; and such recollections of popular enterprises were rekindled, as could not but light up a desire to follow the example.

It was the second year of a deficient harvest; and, although in the Roman States, thanks to the fertility of the soil, there was not so great a want of corn as elsewhere, yet the fear of scarcity was strong in the multitude, who were disturbed in the autumn as though they had been actually suffering from hunger:

and, as might be expected of men who had been trained under bad economic laws, and habituated to prohibitions and to shifting tariffs, they endeavoured, by tumult, to stop the trade in corn with foreign parts, and even between different provinces of the country. So heavily did party spirit now bear upon the so-called Gregorians, that the Liberals, with the injustice usual in such cases, made them responsible almost for the scarcity, and altogether for the riots, which broke out from time to time in the Marches, Umbria, and Romagna. The truth is, the lower orders were possessed with the groundless idea, that the Government should not let grain quit the State, and that bread might be kept always cheap by direct enactment; and accordingly, they murmured, grew restless, and were haunted with the spectre of monopoly. Many of the old centurions and volunteers, belonging to the populace, shared its passions, its wants, and its mistakes, and took part in the disorders; a functionary here and there, either dissatisfied with the new Government, or remiss, failed to make at the proper time the efforts at persuasion or repression which he should have made; finally, the malcontents, aware of the gentle temper of the Prince, and of the laxity of the Government, ventured more than they would probably have done under Gregory.

Rome was not disturbed, like the Provinces, by the fear of dearth, but it was afflicted by another calamity; for after long and profuse rains, and the prevalence at the same time of southerly winds, which melted the snow upon the hills, the Tiber overflowed

on the 10th of December, inundating the whole of the lower part of the city, and most of all the *Ghetto*, where the Jews resided. In the depth of this calamity was displayed the splendid munificence of the Pope, and of the citizens of all ranks, who emulated each other in their solicitude to aid the afflicted, and to diminish the mass of suffering.

I have to mention the rejoicings and popular demonstrations which took place on the 4th of November, when Pius IX. repaired to the Church of San Carlo in Corso, and on the 8th, on occasion of the function of Seisin, in St. John Lateran; but I do not set them down with minute care, because, in sooth, my Muse has but small store of merriment, and because, however scantily I may notice these and other like proceedings, I cannot fail to say more than will suffice to indicate the facility with which the inhabitants of Southern Italy set themselves to play pranks, to carol, and to rhyme. Nor do I waste words in descanting upon the interminable odes of the poetasters, and discourses of the puny scribes, who make it their business to light the censer for every Sovereign, and in whose hands, not only the most illustrious of the Popes, but all heroes, ancient and modern, grew dwarfish when compared with Pius IX. Such adulation of the literary herd is very common in Central and Southern Italy, where academic gewgaws and rhetorical trash are admirable time-killers, and where the itch for scribbling corrodes the vein of authorship. This trifling was, perhaps, more pardonable with respect to Pius IX. than in

other cases; yet it could not be justified, for trifling is always bad in public affairs: soap-bubbles are made for boys, whereas politics are the business of grown men. But amidst the multitude of puffs, and of merry and addle-pated politicians, there were also produced some works deserving record and commendation; and some distinguished persons made use of the medium of letters for worthy and noble purposes. Leopoldo Galeotti, a Tuscan, had printed a book, conceived and written towards the close of the reign of Gregory, upon the temporal sovereignty of the Pope; an elaborate work, which at a later date was thought to evince too little of a liberal spirit, and was misapprehended and perverted by all political parties, but which was very seasonable for the times when it was composed, and must always stand as a solid and useful work. Marco Minghetti of Bologna, young in years, but ripe in judgment, was in course of treating most learnedly upon economical and ethical subjects, in the Journal called the *Felsineo*, and he printed judicious suggestions respecting administrative and civil reforms. Massimo d'Azeglio, too, published a letter, in which he gave prudent counsel, and recommended concord and moderation. Others wrote on finance, on municipalities, on railroads, and on judicial reforms. In short, amidst the mass of leaves, there were also some high-flavoured and nutritious fruits of literature.

The Government continued to observe its practice of nominating Commissions. To that which Gregory had appointed to prepare rules of civil and criminal

procedure, and which was composed of Prelates, Pius IX. added other Prelates, and some lay Lawyers of high reputation. Among these was Silvani of Bologna, who had availed himself of the amnesty: and their province of inquiry was extended to civil and criminal Legislation generally. Another Commission was appointed, partly of Prelates and partly Lay, to suggest plans of employment and education for the young, and of occupying those out of work. It gave the greatest satisfaction, that a beginning was now made in the admission of laymen to a place at least in consultative Commissions, and that men so estimable as Silvani, Pagani, and Giuliani, were chosen for one of them, — for the other, the accomplished Marquis Potenziani, and the high-minded Prince Aldobrandini. Among the Prelates, Mertel and Roberti were popular, but their being conjoined with Monsignor Savelli, and others of that old-fashioned stamp, was much otherwise; and, in general, the Government was blamed for retaining men in office who were noted for steady aversion to reform, and for an illiberal spirit. This circumstance threw a doubt upon its intentions; and made even the more sanguine believe, that progress in the reformation of the State could be but ill achieved with those well-worn tools of abuse. The public opinion was so pronounced against those who had risen to high office under Gregory, that, when the Pope preferred Marini the Governor of Rome to the purple, there was a turn of feeling, because, while his quitting the department of Police was acceptable, and had been long

desired, his being, according to the established custom, nominated Cardinal, was much otherwise. Again, the nomination of Grassellini, who had been sent from the Lands-register Office to be Governor of Ancona, and was then summoned to succeed Marini in the Department of Police, did not give satisfaction, because he was reputed a retrogradist, and Gregory had in other times held him in high estimation. In like manner the public was ill pleased to see the appointment, to the Prefecture of Roads and Waters, of that Cardinal Massimo, who had earned a bad name as Legate at Ravenna; and, to waive multiplying examples, it was not taken in good part that Vannicelli should remain at Bologna, and that the Legate of Pesaro should still be Della Genga, who in the closing months of the reign of Gregory had harassed numbers, and among them a member or two of the family of the Mastai.

But the Government, which moved tardily in everything, was most of all tardy in this matter of changing the men in office; and, indeed, it appeared to be possessed with a strange fancy of pleasing everybody or digusting none, rather than with the thought how to render feasible those reforms which it was devising, and to strengthen its own authority through the instrumentality of agents devoted to itself, as well as acceptable to the people. It was only after many remonstrances and complaints, that it could be induced to change here and there some President of a Province, and that, in the end of this year and the commencement of the next, to the great satisfaction of the public, Cardinal Amat was sent to Bologna,

Monsignor Bofondi to Ravenna, Cardinal Ciacchi to Ferrara, and Cardinal Ferretti to Pesaro. The first two had always been in favour with the public; Ciacchi was well thought of, because he had fallen into Gregory's ill graces, and had gone into retirement at Pesaro. Ferretti was reputed a man of honour, and a great friend of the Pope, with whom he was remotely allied on the mother's side.

The year 1846 was drawing to a close, and its termination was signalised by the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the expulsion of the Austrians from Genoa; by illuminations and musical entertainments in Genoa itself; by banquets, illuminations, and concerts, in those cities of Italy where the Governments allowed them; and, throughout the country, by bonfires at night upon the heights of the Appennines, — a symbol of the flame of patriotism, which was smouldering beneath the gloom of servitude to the stranger. In the Papal States, where the Government was more indifferent and remiss, and the public mind more heated than elsewhere, and where popular gatherings and rejoicings had already become familiar, there were public and noisy forms of exultation in some places, and in others, as for instance at Ravenna, proceedings exceedingly disrespectful to Austria. That Government was angry, and complained of them to the several Courts. The Tuscan authorities allowed the justice of the complaint, or appeared to do it, by ordering some arrests. Even the Papal Government itself caused three youths to be arrested in Ravenna, but only for a short time, and for form's sake. The

Austrian Ambassador in Rome remarked, that nothing else was heard of in conversation, except the union and independence of Italy; the Papal Government, while it sought for justifying pleas, declared its determination to prevent its subjects from any outbreak into hostile or disrespectful proceedings.

CHAP. III.

CAUSES AND OBJECTS OF THE AGITATION IN ITALY. — SPECIAL CAUSES IN THE PONTIFICAL STATES. — DEMONSTRATIONS OUT OF DOORS. — REGARD FOR THE CLERGY. — ACTS OF THE GOVERNMENT. — MISSION FROM THE SULTAN TO ROME. — THE LAW ON THE CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS. — POLITICAL JOURNALS. — THE CLANDESTINE PRESS. — THE PARTIES OF THE MODERATES AND THE EXALTED. — EDICT FOR A *CONSULTA DI STATO*. — O'CONNELL AT GENOA. — HIS DECEASE. — HIS OBSEQUIES IN ROME. — FUNERAL ORATION BY PADRE VENTURA. — NOMINATIONS OF CARDINALS. — *MOTU PROPRIO* OF JUNE 14. 1847, ON THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. — THE MINISTRY.

It was the opening of the year 1847. Ministers, Ambassadors, and persons of the Court, were bringing to the feet of the Pontiff the customary homage and good wishes. The people of Rome, too, themselves desirous to inaugurate the year in a new and striking manner, repaired in a mass to the Quirinal, where Pius IX. welcomed them, and pronounced the blessing from the well-known balcony. The eyes of Europe were turned upon him, and upon the city. In Europe, every one spoke or wrote with an astonishing interest, of Pius, of Rome, of Italy. Yet the greater number of foreign publicists, and perhaps, also, of diplomatists, did but ill perceive at the time, and has but ill perceived since, the inner springs of our earliest transactions; and therefore I think it fitting to enlarge upon them.

In the Papal States, the most energetic and opera-

tive sentiment of the cultivated and liberal class was, the desire of national independence; witnessed by continued sacrifices, even to blood; extolled by our writers; and, I would almost say, blessed and consecrated, from the period when the Pope opened his arms to three generations of men, who had conspired, and fought, and suffered for that very object. There was much, indeed, both of speech and writing, about reforms: but the name of Italy passed everywhere from mouth to mouth; the cry of Italy never failed to be uttered by the multitudes in their rejoicings for the Sovereign and his reforms. These reforms were desired and dear, not so much for the immediate advantages they brought, as because they were thought to be a means of union between Prince and people; and this union was longed and sought for as the condition of further union among all the Italian Princes, their union, again, as introductory to a League, and the League as the bulwark of national independence; that is, to speak frankly and clearly, as a means in the first instance of repelling the intrusions of Austria, next of driving her, with the help of God, from off the sacred soil of our country, and of putting a final stop to that most iniquitous of all the forms of injustice, — the dominion of strangers. In order to comprehend the real meaning of all that festive stir of ours, it was enough to follow upwards the course of Italian literature, politics, and conspiracies; and, further, to read the more recent publications of the day, which in reality owed their great celebrity to the fact, that they satisfied and encouraged at once the most vigorous

and the most legitimate of all sentiments, and pointed out means, apparently the most effectual, of reaching the end for which the country yearned. The foreign publicists did not appear sufficiently to understand the case. The Italian Sovereigns, except Charles Albert, did not hold the same sentiments of nationality as the cultivated and liberal portion of the people. Pius IX., with his refined spirit, was a true lover of Italy; but was too sanguine in the hope that the country would be able to work out its renovation gradually and tranquilly, as it had been argued in some recent works. The King of Naples cared too much about his own absolutism; about his dignity and his destinies as an Italian Prince, not a rush. Italy was dear to the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, but only because his beloved Tuscany was Italian. I omit other States of small account, and Princes of none. The Liberals thought they could make the dull feel by artificial stimulants, the purblind see clear and straight; that they could hoodwink the simple, and hurry on the willing. Heaven only knows what would have followed, had the Italian Sovereigns more thoroughly felt and understood the principle, the fundamental grounds, the aim of the movement; and if the Liberals had had more virtue, more religion, more patience, and more judgment; and both the one and the other more good faith and perseverance. I do not wish to deal in conjecture, but this I strongly affirm, that the sentiment of independence warmed the public mind more than any other; and that those politicians were at fault, who thought that, in 1846 and 1847, Italy

could have been tranquillised for a length of time by meeting our desires for reforms, and supplying us with codes, with railroads, nay even with some modicum of civilised and free institutions. If they have no other specific, they did and ever will deceive themselves. As often as Italy shall have a little life and freedom, she will always be planning and struggling to use it for the purpose of national independence. This may be, or may be thought, illegal in the view of treaties, inopportune in respect to times, rash in respect to relative forces, but it is the dictate of nature, and nature cannot always be withstood by argument; against nature and justice, protocols, treaties, and empires, neither demonstrate, nor avail, nor endure for ever.

It is unquestionable, that in the Pontifical States (and to this point I sought to come), the spirit of independence was warmer than in any other part of Italy: whether because conspiracies and reciprocal oaths had for thirty years been more habitual there than elsewhere; or because so many who had fought and suffered were to be found there; or, finally, because the stimulus of hatred and of vengeance for Romagna was superadded to the glowing Italian desire of national redemption, from witnessing the presence of the Swiss troops, paid high to keep down the people, and to prop up bad government; the Austrians fixed in Ferrara and Comacchio; and the territory of Romagna trodden underfoot, and the flesh of Italy mangled by them every time that an attempt at liberty was made. Nor was this the sole cause, in the Papal States,

although a very weighty one, of a stir greater than in the other Provinces: there was also the desire of the civil equality that the subjects of other States enjoyed; the impatience of the privileges, exemptions, and exceptional jurisdictions of the clergy; the detriment, the contempt, the jealousy, the humiliation of the laity under the absolute government of priests;—these were so many peculiar grounds, which we should fix in our thoughts, if we seek to know the cause of the occurrences in the Papal States. Every reform effected, which had not civil equality for its basis, an uniformity of laws, and the introduction of laymen into the Government, could not but be considered inadequate, and left untouched the most substantial and inveterate causes of discontent. Every man of understanding held that opinion, and accordingly desired to found the reforms, and the State itself, on those principles, which the very Ministers of the five great Powers had in 1831 declared to be vital, and recognised as indispensable.

But, on the one hand, liberal opinion seemed more inclined to skim lightly the fields of fancy, and to cull delicate exotic flowers of freedom, than to work out, with steady will, measures of practical reform; and, on the other hand, the Court, tenacious of the privileges and the temporal possessions of the clergy, looked complacently upon this levity of liberalism, and upon the intoxication of the public from joy. This intoxication grew in such a way, that it had become the habitual mood of the spirits and the understandings of the generality; and it seemed as if altering

the constitution of a State was a game of capering children, or a carnival freak, and not a task of men in earnest. But that incessant summoning of the people into the streets, and their assembling, was such a sign of rankness in their vitality, and such a stimulus to their southern temperaments, as made it easy to conclude that, at a more advanced stage, there would be a change of humour for the worse; and that easy indifference of the Government was of no good omen in regard to the future, either for its own authority or the public security. And who could have checked this utter ebriety? Cesare Balbo strove to show the hazards of frequent popular gatherings, and of got-up movements, by publishing some letters, addressed to the Author, on this and other important subjects: but his words were taken as troublesome and obtrusive, and they were cast to the winds. It has since been shown how, even at that date, it suited the purposes of some to excite the fever of the people, in order to turn to the advantage of a particular party and system the delirium which was sure to follow; how those of the moderate party, who joined in the amusement, really stepped into a pitfall; and how the Government played a senseless game, in remaining an indifferent, nay, perhaps a gratified, spectator. But at that time all restraining counsels, all serious warnings, were held cheap, as bugbears from the minds of alarmists, and auguries of ill-willed prophets. Former Governments had used to give encouragement to the triumphs of singers and dancing girls, to pastimes, harlequinades, the lounges, and lounging processions, of one

kind; hence it was an easy matter to fall in with the habit, and to bring into fashion triumphs and mountebanks, lounges and shows of another kind. In Rome especially, where idling is a habit with many, where spectacles are highly popular, where the people are going in procession all the year round, it was more easy than elsewhere to turn bacchanalian spirits to a political end, and to change religious into political processions. And in Rome especially, popular agitation was of moment; because from thence went forth impulses and examples to the Provinces. The pious Pontiff, who, since the amnesty, had probably remarked not only a greater respect to sacred persons and things, but likewise an unusual, or at least an increased, resort to the observances of public worship, rejoicing in the reconciliation of souls to God, gratified, too, with that of subjects to their Sovereign, was readily tolerant of their superlative manifestations of gratitude and merriment. And it is no more than the truth, that the accents of pardon, descending from the chair of Saint Peter upon the souls of men, had reunited many to their God; the humanity and the compassion, of which the Vicar of Christ set a bright example, had revived the religious sentiment; and numerous were the consciences encouraged and tranquillised by the benediction of a Pope friendly to the advancement of Christian civilisation.

Oh! Religion is an affection, a feeling, a need of the heart more than a speculation of the mind; an affliction, a joy, quickens it more than does a sermon; but example is what gives it strength! The virtues of

the chief of Catholicism, the benefits he had conferred, were redemption to many spirits lukewarm, sceptical, or inert. The malignity of factions, and that of silly persons, who are malignant unawares, did indeed, with the lapse of time, steel them even against those acts of religious devotion, which so much adorned the commencement of the reign of Pius, and have taken such acts for the effects of profound dissimulation and hypocrisy. But let no man conceive so unworthily of an entire people! Censure and execrate the errors, the offences, the profanations, which ensued; but do not pass rash judgments upon the sacred and unprompted movements of our nature, which, if it often deviates into evil, yet never loses its essence of divine origin, which we ought to acknowledge and respect even in its faults, not spitefully to misconstrue and calumniate in its virtues.

Of the proceedings of the Government, and of the events worthy to be recorded, I will say here as much as the order of my narrative may require.

On the 1st of January, Cardinal Gizzi forbade the exportation of corn from the country. In the course of the month, the Police made some regulations respecting mendicity. On the 9th of February, the Pope pardoned those who had committed disorders about the trade in grain in the town of Jesi, and other small places in the March. On the 13th, the Secretary of State ordered the courts to give in monthly, to the President of each Province, an exact account of all the suits in progress. On the 14th, Chekib Effendi arrived in Rome as Envoy from the

Grand Sultan. This was a most novel occurrence, his purpose being to pay compliments to Pius IX., of whom he had an audience on the 21st. He then spoke as follows: —

"As, at a former time, the Queen of Sheba came to salute King Solomon; so the Envoy of the Sublime Porte is come to-day to render homage, in the name of his Lord, to Pope Pius IX. As the wonderful and lofty acts of his Holiness not only have filled Europe with the sound of his praises, but have spread throughout the whole world, my potent Master has honoured me with a commission to tender to the Sovereign Person of the Pope the most cordial congratulations on his elevation to the throne of the Prince of the Apostles. However many ages have passed since there subsisted any friendly relation between Constantinople and Rome, my potent Master desires to live in cordial friendship with your exalted Holiness. He entertains the highest esteem for your august Person, and, in order to prove it, He will from henceforth take in charge the protection of the Christians that inhabit his extended empire."

To this Pius IX. expressed in reply, with his acknowledgments, his pleasure in the hope that, from their interchange of courtesies, there might arise some benefit to the Catholics resident in the dominions of the Sultan.

In the same month was appointed a Commission, to consider and propose a form of constitution for the municipality of Rome. Cardinal Altieri was its President, and the Advocate Carlo Armellini was the Secretary. And on the 4th of March a new Refuge for mendicants was opened in Rome, under the Presidency of Cardinal Brignole, the Prefect of the Commission of Public Beneficence.

The censorship of the press had grown less strict, but the desire was still unfulfilled that, if not abolished (and as yet men hardly dared to ask or hope as much), it might be so regulated by a law, as no longer to remain in the mere discretion of the censors, and that thus an end might be put to a multitude of annoyances. It was observed to be of frequent occurrence, that a production stopped by the censor of one city or Province, was afterwards passed for the press by some other; the excessive rigour of some magistrates was contrasted with the excessive remissness of others, even of the same place; the delays were most wearisome, and all the while the clandestine press grew more active. On the 12th of March, Cardinal Gizzi, Secretary of State, published an Edict, which confirmed another Edict of August 18. 1825, so far as it respected the censorship in matters of science, morality, and religion; but with regard to political censorship, it instituted a Board or Magistracy composed of four Laymen and one Ecclesiastic. Every citizen was to be entitled to publish his own opinions and conclusions upon subjects of contemporary history, and upon the public administration, provided it were done in such terms as neither directly *nor indirectly* tended to bring the acts or measures of the Government into odium. An author might appeal from the opinion of a single censor to the whole Board: the censors were bound to give in writing the reasons of their judgments: the theologian, when he gave his approval, was to do it by the simple formula *nihil obstat;* but if he objected, he was to put his reasons on

paper. Sober-minded men were of opinion, that a law like this was surely an improvement and a step towards good, which ought to be cheerfully accepted; but the impatient, the trumpery ranting authors, the youths, whose palate had by this time grown accustomed to the piquant diet dressed in the clandestine press, thought fit to condemn and to abuse it, in that disrespectful and obstreperous manner, which had become the fashion. The distinguished Professor Orioli published a letter, addressed to Massimo d'Azeglio, in which he found fault with this petulance and indiscretion, and defended the law from sweeping censures. Massimo d'Azeglio answered through the press; and began by declaring that, in his opinion, it was impossible to frame any good law of preventive censure. He then noticed certain serious faults in this one; and, among the rest, that wily and equivocal provision against any words of an offensive tendency, even though indirect: still, he concluded that they should accept the measure without having the mind disturbed by it; and he recommended moderation and concord.

On one of the first days of the year, the publication of a Roman Journal called the *Contemporaneo* had commenced. It appeared once a week, and was edited in chief by a certain Gazzola, of Parma, an ex-friar, who had become a priest and prelate about the Court, and had been at first in favour, which he afterwards lost: he was a writer elegant enough. For an assistant he had one Sterbini, a Roman, who had been in exile since 1831; a man gifted in fancy more than

in mind; an imaginative but inaccurate writer, ignorant of all subjects except the ancient history of Rome, and the language and acts of the French Revolution. The *Contemporaneo* announced itself as the friend both of progress and of order, desirous of a good understanding between Religion and rational freedom; and it published a declaration of the temperate opinions which were then in favour with the majority. In Bologna, too, there was printed a Journal called the *Felsineo*, which was conducted with much both of knowledge and of prudence by Marco Minghetti, Antonio Montanari, and other cultivated and esteemed persons. And from the time that the law upon the press was published, new Journals sprang up, some sooner and some later: there was the *Bilancia* at Rome, conducted by the well-known Orioli, the Advocate Cattabene, and Paolo Mazio; at Bologna, the *Italiano*, conducted by that honourable person, Berti Pichat; with others, less worthy of note, in the provincial towns. The *Contemporaneo* soon became a medley of various hues; it did not always move in one direction; it went by fits and starts; it boasted of moderation, but from time to time assumed a tribunitian tone. The *Bilancia* had a pedantic way of going to work: it sustained firmly the principle of authority, and did battle against the factious; sometimes it warned, and even lashed, the unruly, and the men of extremes. The *Felsineo* proceeded with a cautious, but a frank and liberal tone, in the discussion both of domestic and foreign affairs. In the *Italiano* there was a satirical Chronicle, that people read

with amusement: its course was less circumspect; it was not hostile to the Government, but bitter against the Gregorians. None of these journals were in thorough opposition, while the sentiment of national independence was displayed in them all, but more perhaps in those of Bologna than in those of Rome.

However, the clandestine press still subsisted, and now and then it emitted papers under the title of *Amica Veritas*, or a journal called the *Sentinella del Campidoglio*, in which some members of the Government were roundly abused, and the people was recommended to exhibit a resolute will, and not to let itself be lulled to sleep by the dirges, as they called them, of the Moderates. But moderation was at that time in fashion, and accordingly there were few found willing to censure it openly, or to speak contumeliously of the men that supported it by their advice and example. Rather, indeed, those who were less temperate themselves, and who secretly blew the coals, took as an injury done them the name of "the exalted," and complained of it, as of an unjust and unmerited imputation. A time arrived, when it became profitable to boast of this dissembling, and these covert artifices, and of the victories obtained by these means over the Moderates: some there are, gifted with good memories, that remember that time, and the boasters; who are now become, for all who choose to believe them, Moderates once more. Unworthy as it is of history to notice them, yet it is fit and advantageous to explain the motives and the acts of political

parties. And from that time the party of the Liberals was divided into two essentially discordant sections. One of these wished to reform States without violence, and to found the representative system by degrees; the other was enamoured of a republic, and accepted reforms, and would have accepted constitutions, only by way of stepping-stone to it. The first promoted concord between Prince and people; the second dissembled in the matter. The first desired the league of Italian Sovereigns to make head against Austria, and to organise the strength by which Italy might one day come to be an independent Nation; but the exalted party laboured to excite popular passion, in the hope of chasing away the stranger by that war of the people so much descanted on. The first proposed to found the Italian Federation, or the union of constitutional Governments, as it may better be called; the others were dreaming of a republic, one and indivisible. There might, however, be some few republicans who were Federalists, and some few Monarchists who were Unitarians. The Moderates, though more numerous, could not vie with their adversaries in those covert practices by which sects exist: they declared frankly their own ideas, and acted in open day; the others dissembled, and were not scrupulous in their choice of means. The party that desired to strengthen the Government, to obtain freedom through its agency, and by its means to prepare the way to independence, had to encounter far greater obstacles in the Papal States than in the rest; whether because it was thought that the good faith of the clergy could not

be relied on, or because the temporal dominion of the Pope was, in the view of many, not only ill adapted to harmonise with genuine liberty, but also an obstacle to realising the unity of the Nation. It was, therefore, an arduous task to keep the public mind trustful and at rest; and an easy one to disturb it with misgiving, which is most potent of all things in ripening those humours, that engender and feed revolution. The Moderate party was active, notwithstanding, to the best of its power, under the circumstances of its position. Foreigners, indeed, who interest themselves in our affairs only when we are noisy, and who without knowledge pass judgment on them, and talk glibly through thick and thin, have blamed the Moderate party for invincible indolence. I will not bedeck it with virtues it did not possess; and when, in the course of this history, the occasion shall arrive, I will not pass by in silence the errors it has committed. But in this place truth enjoins us to bear witness, that in the early stages of the reforming Government it discharged all the duties that belonged to it, whether through the press, in public meetings, or in private conversation. But the Moderate party had no share, had no hand or voice, in the Government; rather, indeed, it was ever viewed by those in power with suspicion, or in the light of a troublesome and self-appointed counsellor: nor was it at liberty to form secret societies, in order to constitute, or, as is said, to organise itself, or to oppose them by intrigue and dishonourable means. A party favourable to Government cannot be strong, unless it governs.

The Court of Rome, thanks to the will of the Pontiff, yielded to reform; but it could not yield to the admission of laymen into the Government; or, if it made up its mind to call them into council, it did not call them to resolve, administer, and execute, in which governing really consists.

On the 14th of April, Cardinal Gizzi published an Edict which established a Council of State. The body of Cardinals and Prelates, filling the office of Legate or Delegate, were to propose to the Sovereign three notable persons for each Province, out of whom he was to name one to represent it in the Council. The Council was to sit in Rome for at least two years, and to aid the Government with its advice in putting the various departments in order, in constituting municipalities, and in other public concerns. The Edict was hailed with great satisfaction, and the usual tokens were given accordingly. On account of the death of Cardinal Polidori, the jubilant crowd did not forthwith repair to the Quirinal; but, after the funeral had taken place, it did so, according to custom, after dark, with bands of music and torches; and this time, too, Pius IX. came to the balcony of the palace, when, after giving them a cheerful reception, he imparted to them the Apostolical benediction. The Provinces kept festivities in honour of the new Edict; the journalists extolled it to the skies. The country people, themselves, spectators of the rejoicings in the towns, since they had a Pope for their cause and their subject, rejoiced and applauded with genuine pleasure; and when, at the end of

April, Pius IX. had repaired to Subiaco, there was no sign of devotion and honour that he did not receive from the inhabitants of that and the neighbouring districts. The star of the Pontiff glowed at this time with its highest brilliancy, and in a tranquil sky: his subjects were never weary of lauding him, nor the Italians of proposing him as a model to their respective Princes; the Turk had done him homage; the Protestants spoke of him with a reverence not usually felt for the Guardian of the Keys; the Catholics anticipated through him the plenary triumph of the Roman Church. No stranger, distinguished for rank or knowledge, set foot in Italy, without seeking to come to Rome, and venerate its idol: Prince Maximilian of Bavaria, and Maria Christina of Spain went thither; Daniel O'Connell, advanced as he was in years, quitted his beloved Ireland, that he might go and invigorate himself, by the benediction of the pious Pontiff, for his battles on behalf of religion and the freedom of his country. But his eyes did not behold Pius IX. and the Eternal City; for he was overtaken in Genoa by a violent illness, and died there on the 15th of May. Splendid obsequies were performed for him in the Church of S. Andrea della Valle, where the Theatine, Padre Ventura, pronounced his Eulogy, enlarging upon the remarkable example of Catholic zeal and of love for his country, which the indefatigable agitator had given to the astonished world. The subject of the ovation, both in its religious and its political aspects, enabled the eloquent and imaginative speaker to expatiate in the

commendation of the Supreme Pontiff, whose fame had been the occasion of the devout pilgrimage of the Irishman; and thus, amplifying his discourse upon political topics, he recommended to the Romans a *passive resistance* against the enemies of civil progress, and an *active obedience* to Pius IX.; by which he meant to convey, that the designs of the Pope for the increase of freedom and of religion should be boldly and diligently developed, and that the celebrated O'Connell's love of independence, and his virtues, should be taken for a model.

Padre Ventura was in high repute as a theologian, and had deserved well of the Roman Church for his defence of it against hostile attacks, and for the confutation of the errors of La Mennais, whose personal friend he had been before his lapse into rebellion. He was esteemed for the excellence of his life, for his genius and his learning; he was known for dutifulness towards legitimate authority, and for aversion to revolution. When Pius IX. ascended the supreme Seat of Pardon, he had never let slip an occasion of proclaiming his virtues, and was thought to be his cherished adviser. He manifested anxiety for reforms, recommended a good understanding between liberty and religion, and celebrated its advances; hence his voice had great weight, as being one which encouraged the bolder champions of freedom, and emancipated devout and timorous consciences from their scruples.

On the 11th of June, the French Prelates Giraud and Dupont, with Monsignor Bofondi, of Forlì, Dean

of the Holy Rota of Rome, and Monsignor Antonelli, of Terracina, Treasurer General, were created Cardinals. The two Frenchmen had the credit of piety and learning. Bofondi was an accomplished lawyer, an exemplary priest, and as a Prelate a friend to civil reforms. Antonelli had left a bad name at Viterbo for political inquisitions and sentences: but in the offices which he had filled in the Secretary of State's department, he had merited praise for acuteness and diligence; and in the capacity of Treasurer he had succeeded, if not in setting his office and the funds of the State to rights, which was impracticable, at least in checking the disorder in which Tosti had left them.

On the 14th of the month, a *Motu-proprio* of the Sovereign was promulgated, which established the Council of Ministers. It comprised the Secretary of State, who was Minister of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs both ecclesiastical and secular, as President; the Cardinal Financier, for the department of Industry and Commerce; the Prefect of Roads and Waters, for Public Works; the Prelate President of Arms, for War; the Treasurer General, for Finance; and for Police, the Governor of Rome. The then Secretary of State was the Cardinal Gizzi, who had beforehand been so loudly praised, and reputed a bold reformer; but he was a weak and hesitating person, to whom some even ascribed duplicity. Cardinal Riario Sforza was Financier; a retrogradist by nature and by habit. Cardinal Massimo, the Prefect of Roads and Waters, was haughty, and a

Gregorian. Monsignore Lavinio Spada was President of Arms; in his youth a liberal, he was afterwards moulded into a courtier, and had now afresh inclined towards liberalism. Antonelli continued in the office of Treasurer. He, clearsighted as he was in the highest degree, caught the will of the Pope and the tendency of the times, and backed the one and the other, in the hope of realising for himself popularity and weight, for the Court, *éclat*, and for the temporal dominion of the Church, security. And, lastly, there was the Governor of Rome, Monsignor Grassellini, a man of talent, and of more than ordinary learning; perhaps not hostile to civil progress, but of a nature so suspicious, harsh, and overbearing, that he could ill fall in with the benignant and confiding spirit of the new reign. Such was the composition of the Ministry of Rome.

CHAP. IV.

CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY ONE YEAR AFTER THE ELECTION OF PIUS IX. — CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF HIS ELECTION. — EDICT OF JUNE 22. AGAINST POPULAR ASSEMBLAGES. — INTESTINE TROUBLES. — UNHEALTHY TEMPER. — DISORDERS, AND INQUIETUDE OF THE COURT OF VIENNA. — PREPARATIONS OF AUSTRIA FOR INTERVENTION. — LETTERS OF LORD PONSONBY ON THE SUBJECT. — INSTITUTION OF THE CIVIC GUARD. — RESIGNATION OF CARDINAL GIZZI. — CARDINAL FERRETTI SECRETARY OF STATE. — APPREHENSIONS OF A SANFEDIST CONSPIRACY. — THE SO-CALLED '*CONGIURA DI ROMA*. — TUMULTS AT ROME. — DISORDERS IN VARIOUS TOWNS. — THE AUSTRIANS OCCUPY FERRARA. — MONSIGNOR MORANDI GOVERNOR OF ROME. — EVENTS FOLLOWING THE SUPPOSED DISCOVERY OF THE PLOT. — CONSTITUTION OF THE CIVIC GUARD.

A YEAR had now passed since Pius IX. had mounted the throne. The Government had acquired a character for boldness in innovation, although, in reality, it had done little to renew either institutions, systems, or men. The Finances, Justice, Public Instruction, the Military Service, Commerce, all these principal departments of the State were still administered and directed as in former times. The Commissions indefinitely prolonged their labours. The practical anomalies of the former system still continued. Questions of form absorbed the minds of men, while little was thought of the substance. The appetite of the Liberals was sharpened from day to day by the stimulants of the press and of the popular

assemblages. The old Government, virtually condemned by the new, had fallen without the new one's founding itself firmly on any ground of its own; it lived upon the mere credit which was lent it by the opinion of the Liberals. It was, therefore, in the discharge of its functions, hesitating and remiss, while the popular action was lively. The country had always had a Government incapable of training it, because itself ill-trained; still, up to that time, there had been material force adequate to the business of repression. Now, that system had come to an end, and unruliness bore sway; both the governors and the governed were in the hand of chance. The official servants of the Gregorian administration, who all, or nearly all, were still in office, laboured under great uncertainty as to their own destiny and that of the State. Accustomed to hunt down the Liberals, and to be hated by them, they now studied to win their indulgence and favour by throwing the reins upon their necks. They apologised for having served Gregory; some of them disclosed the ill deeds of the police in which they had themselves had a hand. Even the Prelates felt the itch for popularity. Yet the merry-makings never ceased. The agitators loved them, as stimulants to the people, which they are; the masses loved them, as the masses always love spectacles; the Government began to mislike, but did not dare to discountenance them.

The sixteenth of June, the anniversary of the Pope's election, could not be allowed to pass without the customary indications of joy. The preparations,

which had been prosecuted for some time with extraordinary zeal, were completed on the 17th. The municipal magistracies of all the cities and places round about, assembled in Rome with bands of music. Rome was divided according to its *Rioni:* every Rione had a chief of the people; every chief of the people a banner: among these chiefs Ciceruacchio was Dictator. Very early in the day, the multitude gathered at the *Foro Romano;* there they got into order, each under his appointed leader and flag. At a later hour, preceded by the drums, they mounted to the Capitol. Here they joined with the small corps of the old Civic Guard of Rome, which carried a banner given by the Bolognese to the Roman people as a pledge of concord, to be sealed by the name of Pius IX. From the Capitol, they moved in the direction of the Quirinal. The bodies of municipal magistrates followed, with their colours. They reached the Quirinal and called for the Pontiff; and the Pontiff came to the balcony, made signs of his thanks, and gave the blessing. The national hymns pealed forth; the jubilant multitude repaired to the Church of the Certosa, near the Baths of Diocletian, where the *Te Deum* was chanted; and Cardinal Baluffi gave the Benediction, with the Sacrament. Then came the illuminations of the evening; hymns, choruses, shouts, throughout the night. The next day was the anniversary of the enthronisation: there were fresh rejoicings, fresh singing, fresh illuminations. A person much conversant with affairs, who witnessed the festivities of those days, told the author, that the sight of that got-

up emotion, of that disciplined disorder, of those leaders and flags, of that multitude, impressed him profoundly, and made him doubtful of the upshot. He called that demonstration a revolution in jest; and he foretold that matters would not end with jesting. One or more diplomatists warned the Government of the dangers of chronic agitation; and, on the 22d of June, Cardinal Gizzi promulgated an edict which prohibited assemblages of the people. Yet hesitation and laxity were patent even from the terms in which the prohibition was couched, seeing that they did not frankly set forth the substantial reasons for it, so as to make prudent and right-minded persons aware of the dangers before them; but they put forward an excuse, not a reason, namely, that there might be no interruption to the studies of youth, the labour of artisans, the application of the public functionaries. No sooner, however, had this edict appeared, than, although the Secretary of State spoke at the wish and in the name of the Pope, a report was spread that it had not been approved by Pius IX., that it was the fruit of the reviving hostility of the retrograde Cardinals, and of Cardinal Gizzi, who was separating from the Pope and approximating to that party. Some persons of the Pope's household, solicitous for their master's popularity, gave countenance to these rumours, so that the leaders of the people formed an intention to disobey Cardinal Gizzi, and thought, or caused others to think, that their disobedience would be agreeable to the Pope. Meanwhile, there was loud abuse of the Obscurantists; and at this

time, not the Sanfedists only went under this name, but all those who had played any considerable part under Gregory,—Cardinals, Prelates, and the clients of each of these classes, together with persons in office, priests, monks, military men.

I am far from saying that this charge was fairly applicable to all those at whom it was aimed; but this I affirm, that the Sanfedists and Obscurantists, call them what you will, had shown an incredible obstinacy in their ill-will to Liberals, and their opposition to reforms, and had powerfully contributed to disparage the authority of the Pontiff, partly by turning him into ridicule, partly by muttering doubts of the legitimacy of his election or the orthodoxy of his belief, partly by bringing the tremendous force of *inertia* to bear in opposition to legal progress. The Liberals, on their side, impaired authority by ceaseless agitation; and those who had not dissolved their ties with the sects pretended to be its supporters, in order that they might the more easily get rid of it when the time should come. In Romagna, principally at Faenza and Imola, murders from party motives were frequent; in a word, wickedness was rife on the one side and on the other. But the news of these inward troubles did not reach to the distant regions, in which the name of Pius IX. had risen to a degree of honour and glory, that few names, perhaps, had at any period exceeded. The United States of America transmitted to him a respectful and warm address. The Republic of Chili dispatched Signor Raimond Jrarazzaval to Rome, in the cha-

racter of Minister Plenipotentiary. All the Italian innovators were delighted with these things, and took advantage of them to extol the innovating policy of the Pope, and to demonstrate to the slow-footed or obstructive Princes, the way in which lustre was to be acquired for thrones and security for states. On the other hand, the Absolutists were exasperated from the same causes, and drew thence arguments against a style of governing which put the world into an uproar, and a Pope who had thus brought into disparagement the absolute authority of sovereigns. Such humours were of course more acrid in the country than beyond it; here was the fraternity that in the reign of Gregory had committed every excess at its discretion, and that was now gnawed by envy and torn by passion; here the Pontifical Volunteers, who still, too, kept their arms; here the Centurions, who still retained their privileges and patents,—Freddi, Nardoni, Fontana, Alpi, Allai, Minardi, and others of that stamp; men, that in the military commissions, in the Sanfedist intrigues, and in the persecutions through the police, had gained gold, power, and infamy; nor did they know how to resign themselves to the present adversity, so they lived in the worst humour with the Government and with the Pope. In Romagna, where civil discord and the sects were inveterate, and antipathies were savage, some priests who pulled the strings of Sanfedism were heard to preach against Pius IX. Alpi went up and down, inflaming the Centurions and Volunteers with the hope of an early restoration and of Austrian interference. At Faenza, the Gregorians fired their muskets

at the youths who were singing the Pope's hymn; the Carabineers resorted to violence, in that and other cities, upon the merest trifle. At Cesena, by order of the police, the Swiss took arms against the townspeople. These occurrences caused a suspicion of some powerful conspiracy against the Government, and of serious danger to its reforms; and a belief that the conspirators were in league with Austria, because they were incessantly wishing for and prophesying her intervention. Nay, on this subject a rumour began to prevail, that the very Government of Rome, in despair of being able to check the advance of liberalism, was in correspondence with Vienna to procure the aid of an imperial force. The events, which followed, gave proof that the Pope was privy to no such proceedings; but it is, notwithstanding, beyond doubt, that, in the teeth of the Pope, Austria was getting ready to interfere, and that some of the agents of the Pontifical Government both desired and urged the measure. Prince Metternich was waiting impatiently to be asked; the Nuncio, Monsignor Viale, often conversed with him on the excesses of the Liberals, on the weakness of the Papal Government, and on the probability of its requiring aid. Count Lutzow, the ambassador of Austria in Rome, wrote that intervention would be necessary. Lord Ponsonby sent from Vienna to Lord Palmerston the following letter, which shows that the reports of preparation were not without ground: —

"Vienna, 14th July, 1847.

"Your Lordship has been several times informed by me, that if the Pope should ask the Austrian Government for

support by an armed force against those whom the Papal Government believes to be pursuing measures which will overthrow it, the Austrians would in that case send troops to the aid of the Pope.

"I have now to say, that the Pope's Government is so much alarmed, that the Austrian Government has been requested to take measures to be prepared to give armed protection to the Pope. Austria is, I believe, prepared, and will act whenever called upon. Prince Metternich did not tell me yesterday that the Pope had desired the preparation to be made; but I have no doubt of the fact. He did detail the danger that presses upon the Roman Government, the feebleness of the means possessed by it for defence, and the results of success by the parties attacking it. I can have no doubt of his thinking intervention likely to be called for, and that it is necessary for Austria to act at any risk to oppose those who, he says, mean to destroy the Roman Government. His Highness, in speaking upon this subject, used the following words twice or thrice: — 'The Emperor has determined not to lose his Italian possessions.'" *

And on the next day he wrote: —

"I saw Prince Metternich last night, but could not have any conversation with him on which to found a report to your Lordship; but I will venture to say, that I satisfied myself, by my observation, that the Pope had not yet called for the intervention of the Austrian troops." †

The principal towns of the Papal States had, several months back, prayed for the establishment of a Civic Guard, as a force which was thought well able to maintain public order against the bands of ruffians who disturbed it, and who had been permitted to increase, and to commit crime with impunity, by the Gregorian police, as it thought of nothing but keeping watch

* Original Extract from the Paper presented to Parliament in July, 1849, p. 60. — Tr.

† Ibid. p. 61. — Tr.

over the Liberals. It was likewise menaced by the intrigues of the Sanfedists. Rome, which had a few companies of urban militia, had asked for a more extended and regularly organised force. The recent disorders in divers places, the fears of conspiracy, and the reports of Austrian interference, stimulated these desires and representations. The Pope had more than once received the petitioners with favour, and had shown a disposition to comply; but the Court was averse to the institution that was sought, and Cardinal Gizzi set himself against it. At last, through the Pope's determination, the delays, which were beginning to engender sinister humours, were cut short, and on the 5th of July a notification was published, by which the Civic Guard of Rome was established, or rather completed; and an intimation was given that it would be extended to the Provinces, according to circumstances, and to their wants and wishes. The tenour of this declaration betrayed the apprehensions of the Government; still more so did the secret letter of the Secretary of State, which he transmitted, along with the notification, to the Presidents of the Provinces, seeing that he recommended them to interpose delay, and to concede the institution only in cases where it might be sought for with the greatest urgency. Two days afterwards Cardinal Gizzi resigned his office, alleging ill health as his reason, but in reality because he could not stomach this new institution; and he disapproved of the Pope's readiness to concede what appeared to him both superfluous and full of danger. Nor did he conceal from his own acquaintances and

friends his dissatisfaction; and he used to say, "that if he had remained no more than twelve months in the Ministry, any Cardinal succeeding him would not remain six, for it was quite impossible for a man of sense, and likewise of upright intention, to work harmoniously with a person . . . . like Pius IX." I have before me a letter that cites these words. The fact is, that Gizzi acceded indeed willingly to civil and administrative reforms, but he would not consent to any political reform which should in any degree oust the clergy, or favour liberal ideas. He was always on good terms with the Austrian Ambassador, who, of course, disliked any institution framed on liberal principles. Rossi, the Ambassador of France, recommended decision and perseverance in accommodating the political system to the demands of the period, and of the better part of the population, and used constantly to say, that this would be, indeed, a conservative process; while, on the other hand, to proceed with doubt, and to oscillate, to concede late and in deference to clamour, would be a revolutionary policy. The English agent, Mr. Petre, wrote thus to Sir George Hamilton, at Florence, on the 8th of July: —

"Cardinal Gizzi gave in his resignation . . . . . Whoever may be appointed Secretary of State, unless he bring with him decision and resolution to proceed, and in good faith, with the projected reforms, and to overcome all opposition and resistance, which he is sure to meet with from the heads of the various departments of this complicated and ill-defined government, unless he lay down some systematic plan of administration, it is not difficult to foresee that tranquillity, especially in the Provinces, and in the present temper of the whole of Italy, will be seriously threatened.

I understand that the French ambassador has lately received instructions to press on the Papal Government the absolute necessity of hastening on improvements."*

Great was the public exultation upon the appointment of the Civic Guard. It was promptly notified by the Presidents to the respective communities, with which they curried favour by assuring them that it would be forthwith set on foot throughout the State. Even the resignation of Cardinal Gizzi was popular, as it had constantly been the prevailing opinion, that he obstructed instead of aiding the Pope in the work of alteration. On the 10th of July, a messenger was dispatched from Rome to Pesaro, to summon Cardinal Gabriello Ferretti to assume the office of Secretary of State and President of the Council of Ministers. It was known that he was a man much given to religion, so much indeed, that he would very readily slide into fanaticism; he was of a nature open, and singularly generous and charitable. As Bishop of Rieti, in 1831, he had energetically advised, and almost headed, the resistance to the revolution. As Apostolic Nuncio at Naples in the time of the cholera, he had waited on those whom the pestilence assailed, and had given his all to the poor. As Bishop of Fermo, with a very large income, he had, on his resignation, left a name little popular with the Liberals, very unpopular with the Jesuits, whom in the first instance he had invited and caressed. As Cardinal, he had exerted himself greatly in the Conclave for the election of Pius IX. As Legate at Pesaro, he had evinced abundant desire to conciliate,

* Extract in original from Papers presented to Parliament in July, 1849, p. 60.—TR.

and strict fidelity in following the mind and intentions of the Pontiff. Cardinal Ferretti, then, being a man more of emotion than of reflection, most devoted, as subject and priest, to his Prince and Pontiff, and a sincere appreciator of the piety and virtues of Pius IX., conceived himself bound in conscience to second, to serve, and to aid him in every thing. He thus became the Minister of a liberal policy, whether because he hoped it would be for the advantage of Religion and the Popedom, or because it was part of his faith, that a Pope should be obeyed without reserve. He accepted the administration, not because ambition prompted him, but because he thought the sacrifice of his own inclination and repose to the public good needful and expedient. He accepted, then, declaring at the same time that he would resign as soon as he was able. And because he had no great confidence in his own political knowledge, and saw the times growing big, he summoned his brother Pietro from Naples to advise and assist him: the same person who in 1831 had taken part in the Revolution, — upright, sagacious, long familiar with public affairs, highly esteemed by the Liberals for consistency of principle and steadiness of mind, and valued by all men for his personal rectitude. The new Secretary of State entered Rome as in triumph, such was the confidence reposed in him by the people, and the festive reception which they gave him.

The anniversary of the amnesty was drawing near; and although popular gatherings had been forbidden by the edict of June 22d, the Liberals would not sub-

mit to letting it pass without marks of rejoicing. The Government had instructed the Presidents of the Provinces not to give their permission; and had likewise at first refused it to the Romans, but afterwards assented, so that preparations for festivities were begun. It was reported that the refusal had been given according to the will of the ministers, the permission through that of the Pope; and thus, in order to exalt the authority of the Prince, that of his Government was disparaged. This was in part the effect of vacillation in his political designs, in part it resulted from the zeal which the agitators expended in sowing suspicion and mistrust, and in bringing into discredit all those who were the ancient and natural advisers of the Pope. While the rejoicings were in preparation, rumours went abroad of a threatened Sanfedist reaction; it was stated that the old police was fishing in troubled waters; that Grassellini, the Governor of Rome, let matters take their course; and that many of the centurions, and people from the suburb of Faenza, were repairing to the capital. At last the word "plot" was uttered, and it went from mouth to mouth; the Pope, it was said, was menaced with captivity by the Gregorians, and the Liberals with extermination by the Carabineers, under the command of Freddi, Nardoni, and Allai. The celebration was postponed: an underground and restless agitation commenced: by degrees it burst into a cry for vengeance: the leaders of the plot, and those suspected of complicity, were pointed out: everywhere were imprecations, menaces, and alarms. On the evening of

the 14th, the names of the supposed conspirators were posted at every corner,—cardinals, prelates, military men, and notorious spies; most of them were names hateful and disgraced, but some were untainted. The people read these lists of proscription, and shouted "death!" The Carabineers pulled down the lists, or attempted it, but made matters worse, and were all but in conflict with the people. The night passed in restlessness and doubt. The next day Government had taken no precautions; the troops were in their quarters, the multitude without control. In the evening all those set down in the rolls of the Civic Guard were summoned to arms; the Chiefs of the people led the movement; they began to hunt the conspirators; together with vagabonds and known spies, were arrested men of honour and persons wholly unknown. The suspected houses were searched. Nardoni, Freddi, and Allai fled; while Benvenuti, the Legal Assessor of Police, betook himself to a castle in the neighbourhood. One Minardi, a spy and a pander, escaped with difficulty. The mob would have him, alive or dead; and they searched for him in his own house, in those near it, and about the roofs: when Padre Ventura, in the name of God and of the Pope, exhorted them to peace and good order, and, by using the language at once of religion and freedom, curbed their impetuosity. The arrests, however, were numerous. Some citizens, whom private animosities had marked out for public hatred, surrendered themselves prisoners of their own accord. Thus passed two days. Tranquillity gradually re-

turned: Ciceruacchio was the hero of the moment. All the Journals had their tales about the "Grand Plot." The *Contemporaneo* became the mouthpiece of the resentments and passions, the judgments and the commendations, of the people; even the *Bilancia* echoed them, and Paolo Mazio painted, in rhetorical colours, the wicked conspiracy, and the sublime triumph of the people. On the 17th, Cardinal Ferretti, the Secretary of State, obliged Monsignor Grassellini, the Governor of Rome, to resign his office, and to quit the State within six hours. Freddi and Allai were recognised near the borders of the kingdom of Naples, taken up by the Carabineers, and carried to Rome; Minardi was arrested in Tuscany, and, under the treaties of extradition, was handed over to the Pontifical Government at its request. The new Governor of Rome, Monsignor Morandi, on the 19th, recommended to the people calm, moderation, and order. Cardinal Ferretti commended them for their temperance, and advised perseverance; then, on the 20th and 21st, went to visit the quarters of the Civic Guard, and uttered those words which afterwards became so famous, "LET US SHOW TO EUROPE, THAT WE CAN MANAGE FOR OURSELVES," which only the more excited and inflated the populace. On the 21st, Monsignor Morandi published a fresh notification, in which he affirmed the existence of the plot; gave the assurance that a careful inquiry had already been commenced, which he pompously denominated the "Grand Trial;" and he advised tranquillity, that full discretion and independence

might be left to the magistrates, and authority to the law, which would not fail to punish those implicated in the CONSPIRACY.

So much for Rome. In the Provinces, some cities were discontented, because, in conformity with the orders of the central authority, they were not permitted to keep the festival of the amnesty; others were pleased, because the Presidents and Governors let them have their way. In general, the public mind was in an expectant state; there was talk in the Provinces too about conspiracies, and speedy interventions: unhealthy humours were in fermentation. At Faenza, on the evening of the 18th of July, a few Carabineers came to blows with the townspeople. At a later hour, a patrol of twelve Swiss, headed by two Carabineers, appeared in the Corso; a pistol-shot was heard; the Carabineers gave the word to fire; the Swiss hesitated, and it was repeated; three musket-shots followed: the patrol hereupon entered a tavern, and laid to; they then went double quick towards the Piazza, driving the townspeople, of whom six were wounded. At Rimini, lists were posted up of "betrayers of their country;" the names were those of honourable and liberal-minded men. At Città della Pieve, a popular leader, dear to the Liberals, was put to death; at Terni there was disorder, because a banquet had been prevented. At Bologna, on the 16th, while the people were attending a panegyrical discourse on Pius IX., in the Church of San Petronio, a Corsican pronounced some offensive language; when warned by those standing near, he hit one of them in

the face with a whip; confusion followed, both in the church and outside. On the morning of the 17th of that same July, eight hundred Croats and sixty Hungarians entered Ferrara with three cannons, having their matches lighted; they drew up in the Square of the Town House, and then took possession of the two barracks of St. Benedict and St. Dominic.

Before I relate the circumstances which ensued upon the occupation of Ferrara, I may here fittingly complete my narrative respecting the *Roman Plot.* At that time too much was made of it; it has since been too readily alleged that it was a simple romance, invented by the agitators. The judgment first formed was one of passion; so was the last. It is unquestionable that the sect of the Sanfedists was angered against Pius IX. and his Government; that some Carabineers, and many Pontifical Volunteers, were showing a spirit both unruly and violent, in opposition to that moderation which adorned the acts and language of the Government; that in Rome, and yet more in the Provinces, and most of all in those cities where Sanfedism was wide-spread and talkative, it had been prophesied that the rejoicings of the Liberals would shortly be at an end, and that the Imperial troops would soon restore to power their depressed faction. It appears from the records of the judicial inquiry, which were in due course completed and published, that Freddi, Allai, Minardi, and others of that brood, talked and gave indications of the discontent which worried them, and of their hopes of a rescue at no distant period; while this, too, was

clearly shown, that one Virginio Alpi, a Romagnol, who used to go about between Modena, Ferrara, and Milan, was enlisting centurions and volunteers in Romagna, with predictions and promises of Austrian intervention. Motini, a Monsignore, who was himself a Romagnol, and a Sanfedist to boot, and who, after the events at Rome, had repaired to Modena, and was there in familiar intercourse with Alpi, disclosed at a later time, and recorded judicially, this information, and more like it. It cannot, then, be said, that there existed a regular conspiracy, with a well-organised array of means, to reach a given end within a given time. But this may well be stated and proved, that the Sanfedist party hated the Government and hoped to subvert it, created embarrassments, looked for Austrian aid, kept alive party resentments, and counted on vengeance, if the expected assistance should arrive; also, that in the mean time Alpi was engaged in the covert machinations of an actual plot. If to these notices it be thought fit to add the inquietude of Prince Metternich, mentioned in the letters of Lord Ponsonby, and the persuasion of that nobleman that the intervention of Austria would be solicited,—and if we consider the coincidence in time of the occupation of Ferrara with the disorders that occurred in various parts of the Pontifical States, no one will ascribe all this to chance alone. It must then be owned that, at the middle of July, the public mind was in one of those unexplained and inexplicable moods of anticipation in which, from time to time, it is, as it were, suspended,

brought about by the bitter language of the Sanfedists, the prevailing mistrusts of many of the men in power, the equivocal proceedings of the Government, and the doings of the agitators. Before the excited imagination there rose up the gigantic phantom of Sanfedism in conspiracy, backed by Austria. And it is well to know that the agitators made their own profit from that temper of the public mind, to get arms quickly into their hands, and to deal a heavy blow at the retrograde party. For this purpose they circulated among the masses the words betrayal and conspiracy, as a means of stirring their passions. We are also to recollect that if the Roman plot did not, as was said, understood, and believed, really exist, yet there did really exist those menacing preparations, within the country and without, which had their groundwork in the adherents of Sanfedism, and in the aid hoped and besought from Austria.

The events at Rome, and the occupation of Ferrara, greatly strengthened in credit the Liberal party, which came now to be viewed as the party of the Government; they also entailed odium on the Sanfedists, who were looked upon as rebels. And then it was seen, how those who had been themselves formerly proscribed or sentenced on political grounds, now became in their turn the proscribers or inquisitors of the old inquisitors and judges: the priests notorious for Sanfedism, and the officers of the volunteers, were observed concealing themselves, or going into exile: some were thrown into gaol; others, for example a parish priest, and a canon named Bertoni,

both of Faenza, were by order of the Pope taken to Rome under arrest. The Pontifical Carabineers were everywhere seen fraternising with the Liberals, accusing their own commanders by word of mouth and through the press, and divulging the malpractices of which they had been the tools; while the Government of the Pope made searches after and prosecuted Sanfedism, and consigned to judicial acts the proofs of the long-established existence of this sect, during so many years the object of favour and protection. The Gregorian volunteers, whom up to that time the Government had ill-advisedly allowed to remain embodied, were now forthwith disbanded and disarmed, by its order, and at the instance of the Liberals. The centurions, who still subsisted in the Marches and in the rest of the Lower Provinces, were deprived of their licences. The Civic Guards were enrolled throughout the State, and on the 30th of July a set of regulations for their management and discipline, modelled on those of the French National Guard, were promulgated.

CHAP. V.

POPULARITY OF CARDINAL FERRETTI. — MONSIGNOR MORICHINI TREASURER. — EXCESS OF POWER BY THE AUSTRIANS AT FERRARA. — PROTEST OF CARDINAL CIACCHI, DATED AUGUST 6. — THE *DIARIO DI ROMA*. — LETTER OF CARDINAL FERRETTI TO THE NUNCIO AT VIENNA. — NEW AND GREATER EXCESSES OF POWER ON THE PART OF THE AUSTRIANS AT FERRARA. — NEW PROTEST OF CARDINAL CIACCHI, DATED AUGUST 13. — *DIARIO DI ROMA* ON THE 17TH. — ANOTHER LETTER OF CARDINAL FERRETTI TO THE NUNCIO AT VIENNA. — OBSERVATIONS OF METTERNICH IN REPLY. — REFLECTIONS ON THE EVENTS OF FERRARA. — EXCITEMENT OF THE PUBLIC MIND. — ARMING. — AN EXCOMMUNICATION TALKED OF. — IDEA OF THE ITALIAN CUSTOMS' LEAGUE. — MONSIGNOR CORBOLI. — DEATH OF THE CANON GRAZIOSI.

THE Cardinal Ferretti, who, during that heat of agitation, was convinced of the criminal and seditious proceedings of the Sanfedists, received all those Liberals, who presented themselves to him, with cheerfulness and an honourable welcome. He conversed familiarly with Ciceruacchio, and the other leaders of the people, and in this manner gained their confidence, and came into great repute. The new Governor of Rome, likewise, Monsignor Morandi, courted the countenance of Ciceruacchio, and gained a hold on his attachment by all sorts of complimentary attentions. The good character of the Secretary of State was enhanced by the pre-eminent one of his brother Pietro, who powerfully aided him by his

advice and his exertions; and likewise by that of his other brother Cristoforo, a distinguished soldier of the Empire, who, at the instance of the Cardinal, had betaken himself to Rome from Milan, where he resided. The only power, which at that time the Papal Government could possibly enjoy, was a power of public opinion; and the brothers Ferretti made the most of it, for the benefit of the Minister, their brother, whom they tenderly loved, of the Pope, whom they revered, and of their country, which was first and last in all their thoughts. The gale of popular feeling was at first as favourable and prosperous for Cardinal Ferretti, as it had ever been for a Minister: the merits of the Government of Pius IX. were exalted to the very stars. When the price of salt was lowered by about a farthing a pound the lower class began likewise to exult, and to hope that the Government, so much eulogised by the middle order, would procure the alleviation of its peculiar difficulties. Again, the nomination of Monsignor Morichini to the Ministry of Finance, on the second of August, was agreeable to the City, because the new Treasurer was not stained by any former political taint, while, on the other hand, he had always been thought a Prelate friendly to civil progress. Monsignor Morichini was the son of a learned and famous Roman physician. He had studied jurisprudence when young, and theology in later life. He was conversant with those sciences that are called ethical and social, and had published an useful work on the charitable institutions with which the Capital of the Catholic world so much

abounds. When created Bishop of Nisibi by Gregory XVI., and sent as Nuncio to Munich, he had set a most admirable example.

But that entry of the Croats into the town of Ferrara, to which I have alluded in the last Chapter, disturbed the public mind, which in other respects had abundant cause for satisfaction. Cardinal Ciacchi, who was Legate in Ferrara, directly that he witnessed that unexpected insult of the stranger, made complaint of it to General Auersperg, commanding the fortress, who answered that he was merely executing the orders received from his superiors, nor could he give any other account of his proceedings. The people of Ferrara were in close relations with the Legate and the Cardinal Archbishop Cadolini, who condoled and complained with them upon the unjust aggression, and the wrong done to the independence of the States of the Church. At Bologna, and in the other towns, as the news of the occupation of Ferrara successively reached them, there was great agitation; and the belief in a plot of the Sanfedists, and in the complicity of the Austrians, gained strength. At Rome the Government was full of apprehension, indignant at the excess imprudently committed by Austria, but fearful on the other hand of the extravagances of the Liberals. The haughtiness of the Croats, who had entered Ferrara, was not mitigated as time advanced. They got up and magnified a case of a certain Captain Iankovich, who had been entrapped into an ambush, and had escaped with difficulty. Upon this case the General founded

a communication to the Cardinal Legate that he intended to traverse the City with patrols, and to administer its police. Against this pretension Ciacchi made a public protest on the 6th of August, and he placed it upon record with the notary Doctor Eliseo Monti. It was of the following tenor:—

"I have been informed by a dispatch of to-day's date, from H. E. Lieutenant-Marshal Count Auersperg, commanding, in the name of H. M. the Emperor of Austria, the fortress and the Imperial troops, that, on account of what has happened to Captain Iankovich, of the I. R. Regiment of the Archduke Francis Charles, between the hour of the evening retreat and the morning *reveillée*, Austrian patrols, of suitable strength, will walk that part of the City which includes the barracks and the several quarters of the officers, with the Castle, and the office of the Governor of the fortress. Holding that such a proceeding is wholly illegal, and contrary to the agreements made since the Treaty of Vienna, as well as to a long course of custom, and, in my quality of Apostolic Legate of this City and Province, intending to preserve the rights of the Holy See in their integrity, I solemnly, and in the most effectual form, protest against the illegality of such a proceeding, and of any ulterior act which may be done in prejudice of the said rights, and of the subjects of the Pope entrusted to my administration and protection. All this I do in the discharge of the duty of my representative office, and pending the resolutions which the Sovereign may take. And, inasmuch as what is alleged to have happened to Captain Iankovich has not been proved, while, even if had, it could not warrant the intended measure of patrolling the whole City, and the other matters contained in the before-mentioned dispatch of H. E. the Lieutenant-Marshal (which I reserve the right to communicate to my Government), therefore, on this ground also, I renew the protest I have made for the aforesaid causes, intending and studying always to maintain

in their integrity the rights in question, as they always have belonged, and still belong, to the Holy See."

This protest was enthusiastically commended by all the Journals, and the *Diario di Roma* reprinted it in a Supplement to its No. 64. of the 10th of August, declaring, that "it had received the full approval of His Holiness." It is impossible to say how much this gratified not only the Liberals, but all the honourable men, to whom the dependence of the Italian States upon Austrian sway is odious. Some, indeed, both then and afterwards, censured that public method of procedure, which Cardinal Ciacchi and Rome thus pursued in a delicate matter of international dispute; but such persons were not in possession of the real reason, that made this unusual course advisable. There had been so much said about Austrian intervention, so much suspicion of the complicity of the Government with the Austro-Sanfedist party, and the sentiment of independence was so warm and energetic, that it was indispensable to tranquillise the public mind with respect to the good faith of the Government. The following confidential dispatch, which, with the approval of His Holiness, Cardinal Ferretti addressed to Monsignor the Nuncio in Vienna, and which I now consign to history, explains the reasons of the advice followed by the Court of Rome:—

"12th August, 1847.

"No. 72. 892–6.

"In the first place, I fulfil the agreeable duty of thanking you, Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir, for the courteous

expressions which you have addressed to me, in your Dispatch, No. 542., with respect to my appointment, by the favour of the Sovereign, to the Secretaryship of State. Believe me, I am profoundly penetrated with the extreme responsibility of the office, which nothing but obedience could have induced me to accept. May it please Heaven that I may be found able so to discharge it, as not to disappoint either the confidence with which the Holy Father has honoured me, or the public expectation. But if my strength should prove unequal to so great a charge, at least my best intentions never will be wanting, and this I trust will obtain for me indulgence. For the rest, when the public prints have described me as a frank and straightforward person, they assuredly have not departed from the truth: I am conscious of never having forfeited my title to this praise. Further, my policy shall correspond with my character; and within the limits of a prudence strictly necessary for those in power, but which it would be a mistake to confound with a system of hesitation or indifference, I shall strive (nor will this be difficult) to give to my acts the corresponding and characteristic impress of frankness and straightforwardness, as well in the internal administration of the State, as in its Foreign relations. I conceive this line of conduct to be best suited to the disposition of the people who, by the profound dispensation of Providence, are entrusted to the paternal care of the supreme Pontiffs. Nor have I any reason to doubt of a perfect harmony of sentiment on the part of the existing Imperial and Royal Cabinet, which, as I trust, will obligingly repose in me its friendly confidence, as it has invariably done in the case of my distinguished predecessors.

"Accustomed at all times of my life conscientiously to serve my Sovereign, I shall, moreover, serve Pius IX. in that spirit of sympathy which his rare endowments of mind and heart inspire, and which, rendering him a model of excellence both as a private man and as a Prince, have made him the idol of his people. And, assuredly, in order that an attachment so rational and so strong may grow rather than decay,

I shall not slacken in my co-operation with those wise reforms which are everywhere the object of admiration, or from seconding, as far as the nature of our position and the essence of the Pontifical Government will permit, the inclinations and tendencies of that moderate party, which undoubtedly forms the vast majority of the population.

"Among these inclinations and tendencies is that most honourable one, to prove to Europe that, under the sway of a just Prince, studying the true interests of his dominions, foreign aid is not requisite for the maintenance of order; since there are found at home the elements necessary to secure it where it exists, and to restore it wherever for a moment it may be accidentally disturbed. This tendency, essential to every nation that has a sense of its own dignity, and a due self-respect, is so marked in all the habits, the writings, and the movements of the Italians, that even a remote apprehension of its being thwarted hurts and irritates them, and renders them ungovernable. It is on this account that any Italian Government, in these difficult times, would instantly lose that delightful and efficacious ingredient of domestic prosperity, the confidence and love of the governed, if it even appeared to tolerate, on whatsoever occasion, I will not say the reality, but the very shadow, of any species of disparagement to its territorial and administrative independence.

"Hence it will be easy to comprehend the painful surprise of the people of Ferrara, on the unexpected entrance of the Austrian troops designed to reinforce the I. R. garrison of the place, effected, as it was, with all the outward signs of an hostile movement, inasmuch as the corps were preceded by advanced guards: moreover, those of them who were mounted had their carabines in hand and colours flying, while they took, moreover, the most circuitous route towards the citadel. Under the existing circumstances, it was too easy to perceive that such an entry might well be regarded by the inhabitants as a substantial provocation, the results of which might prove seriously formidable, and of a nature palpably to compromise the two Governments, unless the local au-

thorities and all sensible persons had combined to use every method of persuasion, in order to compose the public mind, so seriously agitated. And it was most fortunate that not even the smallest miscarriage took place at that juncture, because his Eminence the Legate had only been apprised of the intended reinforcement the day before the troops of Austria made their entry, and thus had little or no time to avert the probable consequences. And here, without discussing the question of right, I frankly own, that, regard being had to the circumstances of time and place, I should have expected from the enlightened prudence of the I. R. Government a more timely warning, in the interest of the public peace of those districts of ours. Moreover, the maintenance of tranquillity on the first entrance of the reinforcing detachment, did not set me free from all apprehension for what might follow. I accordingly at once requested the Austrian Ambassador at this Court to alleviate the difficulties of my position by suggesting, as he courteously agreed to do, to General Radetzki to give the necessary directions for the maintenance of the *statu quo*. Now it appears, that notwithstanding the precautions taken and the means used by the local authorities, and by the peaceful townsmen of Ferrara, the untoward event (not yet, however, fully substantiated in all its parts,) has occurred which was mentioned in the Report of the Lieutenant-Marshal, and in the Protest of his Eminence the President of the Province. But that could not in any view authorise the Lieutenant-Marshal to direct Austrian patrols upon the points of the city mentioned in the said Protest, contrary to the agreement which followed upon the Treaty of Vienna, and to prolonged custom; the more so, because the occurrence, out of which this measure sprang, although beyond all doubt most disagreeable, yet did not seem to give rise to any well-founded alarm for the personal safety of the soldiers, especially after the orders which his Eminence the Legate had issued, with a view to preventing the repetition of the like untoward occurrences.

"His Holiness, however, is far from desiring to presume

in the slightest degree that the measure adopted by the Lieutenant-Marshal can be agreeable to the instructions he has received from the I. R. Court; and has, on the contrary, given public expression, through the medium of my Department, to his firm belief, that the I. and R. Court will not fail to do justice to our remonstrances on the subject.

"And here I find myself relieved from the necessity of stating the reasons which compelled me to give the greatest possible publicity to the protest of the Cardinal Governor aforesaid, and to the subsequent approval of my Sovereign; inasmuch as, in this case, to the general observations already made, is to be added the special consideration of a public violation of the compacts between the two Powers, and the overwhelming responsibility which, as a Minister, I should have assumed, if, after having made known to the public the assurances previously given me by the Austrian Ambassador, that his Government would not interfere uninvited, the Papal Government had remained indifferent to a measure which had, in fact, precisely resembled, and which was regarded as the certain prelude to, an occupation by a foreign force. I request you, Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir, to avail yourself of what I have thus stated, in communicating with Prince Metternich in the manner and to the effect that you shall think best, and in the mean time to accept," &c. &c.

At the time when the Papal Secretary of State was addressing to Vienna this reasonable language, the Austrians continued to play the bully at Ferrara. On the 13th of August, at eleven in the forenoon, two battalions of infantry and sixty horse drew up, with artillery, in front of the citadel; the gunners with their matches lighted, and all in order of battle, having Marshal Auersperg, with his staff, at their head. After reading a manifesto, or in military phrase an

order of the day, a major of the mounted *Chasseurs* rode to the palace of the Cardinal Legate, and, leaving three soldiers at the gate, ascended the stairs. While an adjutant of the commanding officer remained in the chamber, he entered the apartment of the Cardinal Legate; he held out a letter from the General, and demanded the immediate delivery of all the posts in the city to the Austrian forces. The Cardinal, worthy of his place, refused with indignation, declaring that, should force be used, he would give way to the aggression, but would solemnly protest against the breach of the sovereign rights of the Pontiff, and of the laws of nations. The messenger took his leave, and returned to the Commandant, who thereupon required the acceptance of his demand within an hour; adding, that he would leave in the hands of the Pontifical authorities the gaols and the palace of the Legate. And his menace took effect. At mid-day the troops began to move; shops, doors, and windows were closed; the citizens gazed upon one another with astonishment; the people shouted "Long live Pius IX.:" half an hour afterwards the whole City was garrisoned by the Austrians, no less overbearing than if they had taken it by assault. Cardinal Ciacchi recorded before the same Notary, Monti, on the same day, the 18th of August, the following protest: —

"Notwithstanding my protest of the 6th current to his Excellency Lieutenant-Marshal Count Auersperg, commanding the fortress and the Imperial troops for H. M. the Em-

peror of Austria, on account of the nightly march of Austrian patrols announced by him—a protest which I thought it my duty to make known to my Government, whose laudatory approbation was signified by the respected Dispatch of his Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State, dated the 9th current, No. 72. 725., I, having been further apprised in writing by the Lieutenant-Marshal, in a letter brought to me this day at noon by a military deputation with an air almost of intimidation, that he 'was positively directed by a Garrison-order of his Excellency the General-in-Chief, Count Radetzki, dated Milan, 11th of August, 1847, to occupy the great guard and the gates of the walled city of Ferrara, according to the rules of military service, and *in precise conformity with our absolute right*,' and the before-mentioned occupation having actually taken place at one o'clock of this same day; and I, in my quality of Apostolical Legate of this City and Province, holding that such an act is a manifest violation of the sacred rights of our Lord His Holiness and of the Holy See over this same City and Province, and not being willing to prejudice the said rights in the smallest degree by my silence, I accordingly protest formally and in the most effectual manner against the fact of the said occupation, maintaining it to be wholly illegal and arbitrary, and injurious to the absolute and full authority of sovereignty in the Holy See over these its dominions; and with so much the greater reason do I protest and complain, in my representation aforesaid, against such military occupation, because it was carried into effect without any grounds previously alleged either by the Austrian Government or its subjects, and because, moreover, it took place in broad day, rather, indeed, at the hour of the greatest resort of people to this Piazza, and thus to the public dishonour of the Papal Government and of its troops, who were in peaceable possession of the posts now seized; and, finally, in the most abrupt and threatening manner, so that it hardly allowed time for notice to the Pontifical officers in command of the said posts."

As the intelligence of the first entry of the Croats into the City of Ferrara had agitated the public mind at Rome, and awakened the anger of the Court, so the news of these more serious events increased both that agitation and that displeasure. The *Diario di Roma*, in a Supplement to its 66th number of the 17th of August, printed the fresh protest of Cardinal Ciacchi, with a copious preface, establishing the perfect right of Rome to protest against such acts as contrary to the spirit of the very treaties which, despite the will and the remonstrances of Consalvi on behalf of Pius VII., had furnished Austria with her title to occupy the fortresses of Ferrara and Comacchio. The official Journal condemned the insulting act of Austria, and recommended the townspeople to remain tranquil, and to rely upon the Government. The Secretary of State then addressed to Monsignor Viale, Nuncio at Vienna, the following secret dispatch, dated the 21st of the same month:—

"The Ambassador of Austria, in conformity with instructions from H. H. the Prince Metternich, has courteously made known to me two dispatches from the Prince, both dated the 3d of the current month. In one of these, he obligingly takes occasion, from my recent appointment by His Holiness to the Secretaryship of State, to express concern for my painful and difficult position; and in order to lighten its troubles and obstructions, he is so gracious as to offer me the benefit of his enlightened knowledge and of his friendship; then, alluding to the actual state of our political affairs, he explains the point of view from which he considers them, and concludes by claiming at my hands the confidence which ought to be inspired by the lively interest of his Imperial and Royal Court in the felicity of these States, taken in conjunc-

tion with the unchanging principles and never-failing rules which have constantly governed the conduct of Austria towards the Supreme Pontiffs, whether as independent Sovereigns, or as visible heads of the Church universal.

"In the second of these Dispatches, H. H. declares himself well satisfied with the instructions which I transmitted to the Legation of Ferrara, in order to smooth the difficulties raised respecting the quarters of a portion of the reinforcing detachment which had arrived there. He adds a copy of his Dispatch of March 12. 1816, addressed to the Chevalier de Lebzeltern, about the meaning of Art. 103. of the Treaty of Vienna, and the manner in which, accordingly, the Emperor of Austria had applied the said Article as circumstances have required. Then, coming to the particular case of Ferrara, he addresses himself to a justification of the motives that produced it, and of the mode in which it was effected.

"The Prince, while recognising the necessity of administrative reforms in the dominions of the Church, mourns over the evils which every day arise in those dominions from a confusion between an idea of progress and the essentially different idea of subversion, idolised by the clubs, and perhaps not sufficiently counteracted by the language and conduct of the Government.

"I entirely agree with the Prince upon the fact of such a distinction; at the same time I hope that the idea of subversion, of which he speaks, cannot as yet be ascribed to any except an *exalted* party, too truly indeed still existing among us, but repudiated by the vast majority, and never hitherto encouraged by the plans which the Government has promulgated for the execution of reforms rendered indispensable by the nature of the times and the universal tendency of nations. And this I assert with the greater certainty, inasmuch as I think it cannot be denied without doing violence to facts, at least up to the very recent period of the 2d of July last, at which date you assured me that the Prince Metternich, in pronouncing his very weighty judgment upon the measures,

which had then been published by the Ministry of His Holiness, used the expression that those measures left nothing to desire. Since that period, no other plan of serious moment has taken effect, except that for the reconstruction of the Civic Guard in the Capital and in the Provinces. I think myself excused from entering at present upon the question, whether, apart from the circumstances of the time in which this step was taken, it would have been expedient at length to meet, in this respect, the ardent and unanimous desire of the subjects of the Pope. I will only say that those circumstances were precisely what rendered it necessary, and for proof I take the happy results (stated to you, Most Illustrious Sir, in my dispatch, dated the 14th of the current month, number 72.717.) which followed from it at the time, and which still continue, in favour of public order and of individual security. Putting out of the question, therefore, any real subversion, I have still to speak of the evils which have shown themselves in various degrees among our population, since the seeds of wise and suitable reforms began to be sown. The Supreme Pontiff, Pius IX., in conceiving his gigantic design, anticipated the stubborn obstacles that are the inseparable attendants of every great enterprise, and with a firmness of will proportioned to the scope of his intelligence, he determined to overcome them. His first necessity was, to gain the entire confidence of his people; and accordingly he took his seat upon a throne of mercy and of love. Having made himself, in this way, master of the hearts of the immense majority, and therefore able to moderate extravagant demands and precipitate desires, he at the same time succeeded in neutralising to a great degree the difficulties that came in his way from the proceedings of extreme parties. He has had even to set himself against the excesses of popular joy and tenderness, which sometimes displayed themselves in disorderly aspects, sometimes with a species of order not less calculated to awaken fear in any who did not know what hidden hand governed the whole, and rendered it innocuous. Still, it cannot be denied that while the eye of the anxious observer,

directed to this picture of a theme so sublime and arduous, revelled in the more or less remote prospect of the future, it was occasionally troubled by dark episodes sprinkled here and there over the breadth of the canvas; but whoever is acquainted with the history of great reforms must confess, that the evils, which for seventeen months have been occurring under this head, are eclipsed by the recollection of the lamentable scenes which, in the same circumstances, have been witnessed by other nations less teachable, or less used to the tranquillity and order befitting the subjects of the Vicar of the God of peace. It would moreover be a grave error, to confound the consequences of a system of reforms by the Government, with the excuse that has been taken from them by a handful of persons to satisfy private vengeance, and to give a vent to disgraceful passions. If, in order to get rid of this abuse, which it is not difficult to restrain by the means usual with a vigilant and active Government — as for some time past has been happily exemplified — we ought to have abandoned the idea of the reforms we had begun, no undertaking of this kind could ever be carried to completion. This, then, does not appear to be a case obliging Austria, in order to ward off serious dangers, to strengthen, as she has done at other times, her garrison at Ferrara: while not one deed of blood can be cited in an entire Province, in any single city, in any single spot of the Pope's dominions, which his own forces have not sufficed, and do not always suffice, but especially at this moment, to repress or to prevent, without having recourse to the employment of foreign arms. But, in the absence of facts, the preparation for some serious plot, which overspreads the Italian peninsula, and of which the development cannot yet be fully reckoned, is made to tell. But what greater fear is there now, that a plot should burst out, than there has been in past time? Is the apprehension of this calamity so novel in Italy, or can it be believed so imminent, as to warrant the extraordinary measure adopted by the Marshal in Chief, Count Radetzki, without special instructions of the I. R. Cabinet, and in so irritating a manner? What ante-

cedent facts were there to drive the general to the alternative of either withdrawing from the fortress, or of considerably increasing the troops by which it is garrisoned, in order to the avoidance of painful complications? In lieu of this, it appeared that if, amidst the insults vented against Austria (at which moreover His Holiness is not less grieved than the Prince), no substantial and direct insult was offered to the I. R. garrison; this of itself might have been a sufficient guarantee for the time to come: just as is, at this moment, the demeanour of the Ferrarese population, notwithstanding the unequivocal and continued provocations to which it is exposed. But it is really too much, that, in order to prevent the merely possible results of the blameable and inconsiderate behaviour of a few (whom our Government has prosecuted, and hopes that at length it may have brought back to duty), other results should have been brought about, both real and most grievous, and such as to involve the Holy Father in the most painful embarrassment. For as no favourable interpretation can be given, from the reasons above stated, to this measure, and still less to the series of annoying occurrences which ensued, it cannot be told to what an extent the irritation of the entire public mind has been driven, nor can it be foreseen to what a degree the consequences may be fatal. I trust that a just and friendly Power will not seek to charge itself, in the face of its own conscience and of the whole world, with a responsibility so enormous; as, on the contrary supposition, the Holy Father cannot excuse himself from remonstrating on behalf of the peace of his own States, and the free and independent exercise of his temporal Sovereignty.

"But the words of the common Father of the Faithful to his Apostolic son will, I am certain, be of more avail than the language of Sovereign to Sovereign. It is not to be believed that, on this occasion only, they should not be listened to. With his confidence in the sentiments of the most religious heart of the Emperor, in the prayers of the most august and pious Empress, to which he earnestly commends himself as well as to those of the whole Imperial and Royal Family, and lastly

in the efficacious co-operation of the Prince Chancellor, His Holiness cannot abandon the consoling hope of being set free from such serious troubles, if not by the immediate recall of the reinforcement that has arrived at Ferrara, yet at least by its concentration in the citadel, and by the restitution to the Pontifical troops of the posts and patrols of the city recently taken possession of by the Austrian forces. Place yourself, Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir, in the afflicting situation of His Holiness, and fulfil this great mission, entrusted to you by the confidence of your Sovereign, with all the zeal and energy of which you are so capable, and with which you will be inspired by the nature of an affair, perhaps simple in appearance, but esteemed by our Lord and his Government as one of immense importance.

"You will immediately apply yourself to the matter, and so arrange, that I may receive with the greatest possible security and promptitude the reply to this dispatch. In the meantime, pray accept the renewed assurances of the very high esteem with which I subscribe myself," &c.

The Chancellor's Department at Vienna replied to the following effect.

"That after the troubles which agitated Italy, during the wars of the Republic and of the Empire, the Supreme Pontiff, at the epoch of his Restoration, found that the ancient habits had been broken up in his States. That in lieu of these there were new ideas, which, before they could re-enter the line of order, and resume a course compatible with the return of the ancient state of things, required to subsist for two or three generations; because it is length of time alone that can rebuild what disorder destroys with such awful celerity. But that while Rome was toiling at a work of universal reconstruction, she allowed certain abuses and imperfections to slip in, which it was essential to remove. That on this account, after the events of 1831, the Imperial Cabinet signified to the Court of Rome not only this necessity for judicious reforms, but like-

wise the extent and the character of the improvements to be effected. That the archives of the Austrian Embassy at Rome, and those of the Vatican, bear witness to these assertions. That nothing, then, could be more unjust than to accuse Austria of being hostile to reforms in the States of the Church, and to attribute the dispatch of a reinforcement for the garrison in the fortress of Ferrara to a spirit of hostility towards the intention announced by the Holy Father of removing abuses. But, that if Austria was favourable to the reform of abuses, she was not at all so to the introduction of new theories more abusive still. That to reform is to improve that which exists, not to substitute something entirely new, without roots in the past, and in the respect of the people, and consequently without guarantee for the future. That such changes are to be feared, and most of all in the Pontifical States, where the double character of authority, as temporal and spiritual, ought to be sustained by the stability of their institutions, as well for the dignity of the Holy See, as for the security of Catholicism universally. That in respect to the occupation of the fortress of Ferrara, the Chancellor of Vienna had nothing to add to the explanations already given, by which it was proved, that the Imperial Government had done no more than to make use of a right guaranteed to it by treaty."

Let any one now recall to mind the events of Ferrara, of which the tempest of the Revolution, causing other events yet more grave, has effaced the recollection. Let him consider the antecedent facts, and dwell upon the documents that I here cite; to him it will then be manifest, that Austria employed her force abusively, distorted treaties incredibly, and assailed the independence and authority of the Pontiff, with no other end, than so to intimidate him, that he might stop short in the political reforms to which he had applied. It stung Prince Metternich,

that the press should burst its rigid restraints, and it stung him yet more, that the townspeople should have arms: true, he, the Aulic tutor of Italy, did not prohibit their being treated to a civilised institution or two; and he scolded the Roman Government, throwing in its teeth the good advice it had failed to follow; but woe to Rome and to the Italians, if they should try to get out of pupilage! If the occupation of Ferrara had not this aim, why was it carried into effect at that juncture? If the meaning of the French word *place*, which was found in the treaties, gave Austria the right, why did she not warn Rome of it? Why did she disregard those courtesies and attentions which are fit, and are usual, even with inimical Powers, much more with those allied and friendly? Why, finally, those hostile demonstrations, such violence to the Legate of the Pope, and such persistence in that violence?

Again, let a man revolve in his mind the detected intrigues of the Sanfedists in the Pontifical States; the bragging about an early deliverance, and aid from Austria; and the rumours of intervention that were current at Vienna, and were thought, even by diplomatists, to be well founded: will not he have grave suspicions in his mind of some secret correspondence, some conspiracy of faction? This, at any rate, is placed beyond doubt, that Austria was averse to any kind of liberal institution, and most of all so if it were military, in the States of Central Italy; and that she wished to hinder by force the free exercise of Sovereign rights on the part of those Italian Princes, who were making

such concessions. All of which will be more fully exhibited and proved hereafter.

In the mean time, I have now to tell that, far from succeeding in their work of discouragement and discord, Prince Metternich and Marshal Radetzki succeeded by their inconsiderate provocations only in stirring up the public mind to an unusual degree, in leading the Court of Rome perhaps beyond the point that it desired and sought, and in drawing down upon Austria the rebuke even of such serious-minded persons as had shrunk until then from political affairs, and the censure of civilised Europe. Lastly, they flung the gauntlet of defiance, the cry of war, into the midst of Italy, and they gave to her national sentiment and to her temporal resentments, the strength of the alliance and the blessing of the Head of Catholicism.

All the Municipalities of the State formally tendered aid to the Pope, devoting themselves to him in life and property; all swore to defend the independence of the country; all purchased arms and presented them to the Sovereign; and not the Municipalities alone, but the Provinces, and private citizens, made tenders and gifts; not only Liberals, not only Laymen, but Priests, Bishops, religious Orders, collected and presented money towards the costs of armaments. The press, having broken the bonds of the Censorship, dealt copiously with the questions of the Union of Italy, and of National Independence, and went beyond all measure in recommending resistance. The Government, whether spontaneously or driven by others, allowed the arming to proceed, recommended to the

French Government those who went into France to procure arms, determined to have a Camp at Forlì, and named the commanders, though the troops for it were very few, and were never collected. All the youth betook themselves to drill; the Civic Guard was embodied and clothed, and the flags were blessed by the priests. Nor did they speak of the use of material arms alone for defence against Austrian aggression, but both spoke and wrote publicly, aye, the very Liberals, singular to know, advised the See of Rome to employ those spiritual arms which in former times have so much harassed mankind. Some Journals, the *Bilancia* among others, said, that more reliance ought to be placed on these, than on armies. Excommunication had become the theme of all conversations—the desire, nay, I will say plainly, the fashion of the day. It was whispered that the threat would issue, and that upon the slightest fresh outrage from Austria it would be published in St. Peter's, hung with black, amidst all the ancient solemnities; it was thought that the Pope would be a Julius II., an Alexander III.; nay, they extolled the martial qualities of the Cardinal Secretary of State, and they put in the mouth of Pius IX., gentlest of men, the cry, "Out with the Barbarians!" Nor can it be averred that these menaces of excommunication were a mere dream of the vulgar, seeing that it is certain, that not only persons of the household at the Quirinal spoke of it, but that he, who is himself the Quirinal, revolved it in his mind and thoughts. The sign of it is found in the following words of a secret dispatch:—

"His Holiness is unable to pierce with his eye the darkness of the future; he knows there are not wanting those who sow tares in the field of the father of the family; hence he cannot foresee whether there will come a day requiring the *highest* hand to assist in rooting them out at their maturity; but I repeat, once more, this case has not actually arrived."

The hostile demonstrations of the Cabinet of Vienna caused Pius IX. to determine upon giving effect, as soon as he was able, to the sagacious and national idea, of which he had been enamoured from the very commencement of his Pontificate; namely, the idea of an Italian Customs League, which should be both a commencement and a means of effecting a political League. The Marquis Pareto, who worthily filled the office of Sardinian Minister at Rome, had already, in the name of King Charles Albert, announced his adhesion to the Pope's design, and the Pope deputed Monsignore Corboli Bussi to the Courts of Tuscany and Turin, to act as Envoy and Negotiator of the projected Customs League. Monsignor Corboli was a high-minded youth, of pure life, and of excellent abilities, religious and devout in a degree not surpassed; versed not only in theological studies, but in the political and economical sciences. He was at the time peculiarly dear to Pius IX.; he was one of those exceeding few Clergy, of those few people about the Court, who sincerely longed for the union of Religion with Liberty, and sought to elevate the Papacy to the Protectorate of independent Italy. He was a friend and adviser worthy of a pious Pontiff, of a reforming Prince, of Pius IX., the prophesied

regenerator of Italy. But he was alike obnoxious to the envy of Courtiers and the suspicions of the liberal herd: the first tried to give him the character of a daring innovator in the Palace, the latter to make him mistrusted in the streets, because he did not swagger over Cardinal Lambruschini, now fallen from authority and from credit, as so many other Prelates did at that time; but honoured and respected him in his humble fortunes, as he had honoured and respected him before. Thus, for opposite ends, the insane parties, hostile to one another, agreed in hostility to Monsignor Corboli. But the Pope did not cease to hold him in estimation, and gave him proof of it by deputing him to the most momentous and glorious work that he had undertaken. In the meantime, his enemies, who were many and powerful at Court, rejoiced in his going to a distance from the Court and from Rome. And well they might; for so Pius IX. remained during some time deprived of the advice, the assistance, the encouragements, of one of his most sincere and devoted friends. Death, too, took from him another, that Canon Graziosi, who had been his guide and master at the outset of his ecclesiastical career. The day of Graziosi's death was one of grief for Rome, because the griefs of Pius IX. were griefs of the public; and because there was an universal belief, that the pious Priest was one of those, who most acceptably advised and most effectually encouraged him to good.

CHAP. VI.

QUESTION OF FERRARA. — MAMIANI AT ROME. — MOTU-PROPRIO OF OCTOBER 2. ON THE ROMAN MUNICIPALITY. — REJOICINGS. — MOTU-PROPRIO OF OCTOBER 25. ON THE COUNCIL OF STATE. — NAMES OF ITS MEMBERS. — NEGOTIATIONS FOR COMPOUNDING THE QUESTION OF FERRARA. — COUNT USEDOM, MINISTER OF PRUSSIA. — MONSIGNOR VIALE, NUNCIO AT VIENNA. — PROPOSAL OF COUNT USEDOM. — NOTE OF CARDINAL FERRETTI TO THE NUNCIO. — NOTE OF GENERAL FIQUELMONT. — REMARKS OF THE COURT OF ROME ON THE LAST-NAMED NOTE. — PROCEEDINGS OF COUNT CRISTOFORO FERRETTI AT MILAN. — SHUFFLING OF THE AUSTRIANS. — NOTE OF THE COURT OF ROME. — PROPOSAL OF COUNT FERRETTI.

In the month of September, when the Court of Rome was wholly occupied with the question of Ferrara, the Pope addressed a letter to the Emperor; and the Cardinal Secretary of State deputed his brother, Count Cristoforo, to employ, in Milan, all the good offices that he might think conducive to an accommodation. The country was at the same time busy with the organisation of the Civic Guard. Terenzio Mamiani, who was still in exile, because he had not subscribed the form of Declaration that the Government exacted from the persons amnestied, requested permission to return to his country; and, having promised Cardinal Ferretti that he would obey the laws, and do nothing to disturb the state, he obtained leave to reside within it provisionally. He came to Rome, and was received there, and at Pesaro, his

native place, as well as elsewhere, with marked signs of affection and respect; and he joined in the praises of Pius IX., while he recommended a strict adherence to legality, and moderation of desires.

On the 2nd of October, the *Motu-proprio* was published, which established the Municipality of Rome, with a constitution not materially different from that provided by the edict of July 5. 1831, for the municipalities of the state in general. Thereupon followed the usual festivities, choruses, and illuminations. The people marched to the Quirinal, and the Pope gave the benediction. Nor did that day suffice; for, on the next, the Civic Guard assembled, and received the Pope's blessing, while the illumination was repeated; and again, on the 7th, the Civic Guards and the regular troops went to make holiday at the *Farnesina*, and kept up their revel until night. They then returned, deposited their arms at their respective quarters, and proceeded to mix among the people, joining with them, through the illuminated city, in acclamations for Pius IX., Italy, and union! On the 14th, in the evening, when the Pope returned from Albano and Castel Gandolfo, whither he had gone early in the day, the multitude went anew to the Quirinal, and were blessed afresh by the Pope. On the next day the *Motu-proprio* respecting the Council of State was promulgated; and upon this there was another gathering, another illumination, with fresh acclamations, and a fresh benediction.

The persons chosen to the Council of State were as follow. For Rome, the Princes Pietro Odescalchi

and Francesco Barberini, with the Advocate Giuseppe Vannutelli. For the Comarca, the Advocate Giuseppe Lunati. For Bologna, the Advocate Antonio Silvani, and Marco Minghetti. For Ferrara, Gaetano Recchi. For Ravenna, Count Giuseppe Pasolini. For Forlì, Count Luigi Paolucci. For Urbino and Pesaro, Count Luigi Mastai, nephew of the Pope. For Velletri, the Advocate Luigi Santucci. For Ancona, Prince Annibale Simonetti. For Macerata, Count Lauro Lauri. For Fermo, Michele Adriani. For Ascoli, Count Ottavio Sgariglia. For Perugia, Count Luigi Donnini. For Spoleto, Count Pompeo Campello. For Rieti, the Advocate Giuseppe Piacentini. For Viterbo, the Advocate Luigi Ciofi. For Orvieto, Marquis Lodovico Gualterio. For Cività Vecchia, the Advocate Francesco Benedetti. For Frosinone, Professor Pasquale De-Rossi. For Benevento, Monsignore Bartolomeo Pacca. Cardinal Antonelli was appointed President; and Monsignore Camillo Amici Vice-President. These nominations were generally approved.

In the month of October, there was no new incident, except that, on his journey to the *Porto d'Anzio*, and on his return to Rome, the Pope had the usual joyful greetings; and these were renewed on the 4th of November, when, according to custom, he went to the church of *San Carlo al Corso*.

In the meantime the question, which had arisen out of the occupation of Ferrara, was under discussion at Vienna, Milan, and Rome. By ambassadors and persons in office, it was handled diplomatically, or,

as it is called, officially; and officiously by divers persons and in divers ways. Usedom, the Minister of Prussia, who had gone from Rome to Germany to pay homage to his sovereign, tendered to Cardinal Ferretti his own good offices, and those of his master. For this the Cardinal returned him such acknowledgments as custom and courtesy require. Hence the King of Prussia got into discussion with Prince Metternich on the question of Ferrara, and Usedom began to mix in the matter of an accommodation with Rome; while Monsignor Viale, the Pope's Nuncio, let them say and do as they pleased, although he had not received from his Court any information or direction to that effect. Prussia, while partial to Austria, flattered the Nuncio with the hope of an easy and honourable arrangement; and the Nuncio, whether as a man easily pleased, or as more tender of Austria than of the dignity of Rome, lent an ear to unworthy proposals. Usedom's plan, in fact, was this: — 1. That the Imperial troops should retire into the citadel and the barracks, but that patrols should be authorised to walk those streets which connect the latter with the former. 2. That the Pontifical Government should abstain from instituting a Civic Guard in Ferrara, and should send there a regular force, taken from the foreign regiments, which should perform the military duty of the city. 3. That the command of the *Piazza* should be entrusted to the commandant of the Imperial troops.

Cardinal Ferretti, resenting these proposals, addressed the following letter to Monsignor Viale, Nuncio at Vienna, on the 1st of October.

"I cannot sufficiently express to you, most illustrious and reverend Sir, the painful surprise which the perusal of your dispatch, No. 583., has caused me; describing the series of communications, which have been conducted at Vienna by M. Usedom, Minister of Prussia to the Holy See, in regard to the question of Ferrara now depending with Austria.

"Every one must see, that in them I am made to bear a part, by no means becoming a person having ever so little sense; much less a Prime Minister, put in charge of the interests of his Court, and consistent with himself. Hence the honour of the Holy See, and my own, require me to make a perspicuous statement of the case; which will at the same time obviate any danger of throwing our negotiations with Austria on the affair of Ferrara into further complication.

"Count Usedom having resolved to go to meet his sovereign, made an offer to me to interest Him in our disagreeable discussion with the Austrian Court. This friendly overture was received by me in the manner, in which all courtesies should be met. But he never had from me any sort of authority to proceed diplomatically, much less then to propose conditions evidently wrongful to the interests of the Holy See, and contradictory to the spirit and the letter of my dispatches well known to yourself.

"And here I simply waive the observation, that, as a request for a mediation of this kind would be an absurdity in those who are loudly and publicly protesting on behalf of their strict rights, so to invoke it at the hands of a Protestant power would seem but little becoming in the view of other Courts, both equally friendly and, moreover, Catholic. I will rather state, that I cannot comprehend how you, most illustrious and reverend Sir, could make up your mind to conform yourself to such a mediation, when you had had no instruction so to do, when M. Usedom could not show you any written authority from the Secretary of State, when, on the contrary, all the instructions you have heretofore received, and all the acts and dispatches from hence, taken in connection,

demonstrated to the *last degree of certainty* that neither His Holiness nor his minister could have invited or admitted that mediation, not in a private and friendly manner, but in express diplomatic form, and further with the acceptance of conditions, such as the Holy See could under no circumstances have admitted even if tendered to it, and much less could have proposed as a measure of its own.

"I shall pass by, without remark, the first and second conditions proposed by M. Usedom, which the Prince Metternich himself has acknowledged to be not more inopportune than indecorous, and contrary to the true interests of the two Courts.

"I shall content myself with submitting to you, in respect to the *third*, that to stoop to it would be even worse than to allow Austria to garrison the city of Ferrara; since we should by it, with our eyes open, place our own troops under foreign command; which would not only be an acceptance *de facto* of the Austrian occupation of Ferrara, but it would involve bearing the expenses of it, by causing it to take effect through the troops of His Holiness, subjected to the military command of another power.

"Furthermore, this third condition stands in glaring contradiction with the first. For, while by that it is sought to limit the occupation to the citadel only, with the barracks and streets in line between them and it, by this it would be extended over the whole city, including even the posts in the possession of the Papal forces.

"From these considerations it appears quite impossible that Prince Metternich should have taken these suggestions to be serious; and that his extreme perspicacity should have failed to perceive the absolute necessity of cutting short at once the proposition broached by the minister of Prussia, in the absence of any act or evidence to warrant his interposition.

"It is then clear that the offer made to me by M. Usedom had no other character than that of an act of courtesy, and that as such it was viewed and met by me; that M. Usedom, accordingly, had not received any commission from the Holy

See to manage the controversy in question; that in consequence of the favourable opinion, which the Prussian Cabinet appeared to have given in respect to the said controversy (since contradicted by the letter which His Majesty delivered to M. Usedom for the Prince Chancellor), it had been thought fit to accept the proffer of the minister, but always in the sense of a friendly, not an official, interposition, and this only in general terms; that, finally, at all events, M. Usedom neither was, nor could have supposed himself to be, authorised by the Pontifical Government to propose modes of adjustment such as would have rendered its position in the before-mentioned question even more complicated and embarrassing.

"I must moreover distinctly state, that I should not have decided upon making the present declaration, had not an urgent necessity constrained me to do it; and, besides, that I value, as highly as any terms could convey, the qualities of M. Usedom, so distinguished in all respects; nor do I attribute to any cause, except a misapprehension, whatever of a questionable nature may have occurred in the course of his negotiation.

"You will have the goodness to communicate this dispatch forthwith to Prince Metternich, and to thank him very particularly, and in the name of the Holy Father, for the anxiety he shows to treat this question in the manner befitting both the Courts. In the meantime, I beg you to accept the assurance of the distinguished esteem with which I subscribe myself," &c.

Meanwhile, General Fiquelmont, who was at Milan, acting as the chief Austrian Commissioner for Italian affairs, wrote to Count Lutzow, the Ambassador of his Government to the Holy See, the note which I here insert.

"The press in the Roman States continues its war of invective against Austria. It appears to have gained an entire freedom.

"In one of the last numbers of the 'Felsineo,' among other matters, the Austrian troops were designated under the name of the 'Imperial Gangs.'

"We, undoubtedly, cannot do otherwise than despise this kind of warfare. Such weapons do harm only to those who use them. But if there were occasion to reply to that injurious name of 'gangs,' it would be enough to point to the calm attitude of the garrison of Ferrara, in the face of all the libels that cover the walls of the city. All the officers, and great part of the soldiers, understand Italian. They therefore comprehend the insults that are aimed at us. Unquestionably, Count, it requires a thoroughly established discipline to repress the just resentment that men of honour must feel, when they find themselves in such a position. Happily they all are aware, that such insults have it for their aim to drive those troops to acts of violence in preventing them; acts which the persons now engaged in agitating the population of the Papal States wish to provoke, in order that they may afterwards use them as a weapon the more against us.

"Ferrara has in general been chosen as the theme for attack. It is grievous, that the agitating party of Italy—and certainly no one can deny the existence of such a party, which is plain as day—should have succeeded in making the question of Ferrara a subject of disagreeable discussion between the two Governments.

"Nothing but errors of fact could have led to a result so much to be regretted. It is, therefore, before all things needful to make a clear statement of the facts: nor is this difficult. Let one fact alone decide the question; it is the following:

"At no time has the entire garrison been lodged in the citadel; and this for the very simple reason, that it would not contain the whole. It is of too narrow a circuit to allow of large barracks; therefore the officers of the engineers, the soldiers intended to mount guard on the bastions of the citadel, and a detachment of artillery, have always been the only portions of the troops which have had quarters there. The

infantry required for the duty of the interior of the citadel itself, have been dispatched thither day by day from the garrison quartered in the town, at the hour of mounting guard; as, moreover, is pointed out in a Plan of Ferrara now before me, in which are laid down three buildings destined to the use of the Austrian troops, as follows:

"S. Catterina Martire, Austrian Military Hospital;

"S. Domenico, Austrian barrack;

"S. Benedetto, Austrian barrack.

"This Plan was engraved and published in the town itself, in 1836.

"When Marshal Count Radetzki dispatched a reinforcement thither in July last, not even a single soldier was lodged in any other quarters than such as had been used for the purpose since 1815. It is, therefore, in contrariety to the truth, that the entry of those troops has been designated as invasion. The garrison has not overpassed, by a single inch, the ground that it had at all periods held.

"The only question, then, which can form a subject of discussion, is that of the limits to be assigned to its garrison-duty. In this respect, the military authorities of Austria will never hesitate to make whatever arrangements shall be agreeable to the Papal Government. The only point on which there can be no compromise, is the security and discipline of the Austrian garrison itself.

"Further, Count, the right to send out patrols is indispensable both to security and to discipline. This right is certainly without prejudice to territorial sovereignty, as it extends simply to causing the streets to be traversed. At the hour of the retreat, all the soldiers are bound to return to their barracks: it is the business of the patrol to arrest any of them who may have transgressed this rule of discipline, alike necessary for the maintenance of order in the force, and for the security of the inhabitants. On these grounds, accordingly, in every garrison town throughout the world, such a description of patrol is found.

"The patrol is further designed to look to the safety of all

the military establishments; barracks, hospital, offices, military chest, magazines, bake-houses, and the like.

"To resist the observance of this military regulation would be equivalent to resisting the right of garrison. Now, in the whole course of this discussion, there is nothing to show, that such has been the intention of the Roman Government.

"The whole question, then, has reference to the regulation of the duty of a garrison, which, from the nature of things, must be a mixed one; and therefore there is no place for any question of Sovereignty, properly so called. Accordingly, the Cabinet of Vienna has expressed itself in this sense from the outset. It is on this ground that it seems naturally to fall to the military authorities of the two Powers to conclude an agreement between themselves for managing a service which likewise is divided between them.

"Does it not seem to you, Count, that this would be the surest, and, at the same time, the simplest means to re-establish the good understanding, which has only been interrupted by assigning to the facts a significancy they would not justly bear?"

To this the Court of Rome replied by the following remarks and considerations:

"The excesses of the press, which the Pontifical Government joins in deploring, proceed mainly from that military occupation against which we protest. They are still more serious in all the rest of Italy and beyond the Alps; nor can the most active police always succeed in checking them. Of this some articles admitted into the Lombardo-Venetian Gazettes afford the clearest proof.

"Except two satirical pieces, posted up at the first entry of the troops, and an invitation to pray for the souls of the brothers Bandiera, we have received no account from the Legation of any writings whatever, and much less of 'scandalous libels that cover the walls of the city.' Furthermore,

it has already been shown that those 'agitators of the population' are, in the Roman States, very few in numbers, and also without influence or power of exertion. But even granting them to be numerous, this would be a fresh reason against giving them a plea for stirring up the popular mind, by persistence in the occupation of the town of Ferrara.

"It is not the influence of any party that has brought the question of Ferrara into its present prominence: this is the expression of the entirely spontaneous sense which the Pontifical Government has always entertained of its own rights and its own dignity. The protest of Cardinal Consalvi, and the correspondence which at former periods has taken place between the two Governments on the same subject,—were these, then, the works of the party now agitating in Italy?

"The whole of this reasoning sets out from a supposition which is groundless. No one has ever designated as an *invasion* the reinforcement of troops dispatched to Ferrara by Field-marshal Count Radetzki, nor yet their entry into the city, nor their taking up their quarters in the two barracks. It was only remarked in regard to the manner in which the entry was effected, that it was, considering the circumstances of the day, ill-timed and irritating. Nor can there be a better proof of this, than the unfavourable impression which it actually made upon all the subjects of the Pontiff. For the rest, the proceedings which exclusively were designated as an invasion, and which have accordingly given ground for the present discussion with Austria about Ferrara, were the establishment of patrols, and the occupation of the great guard-house, and of the four gates of the city. In fact his Eminence, the Legate of Ferrara, has protested upon these heads exclusively, and not against the entry of the Austrian troops and their lodgment in the barracks.

"No limits for military duty then can be assigned to the Austrian garrison in the city of Ferrara: in which the Holy Father, who is its absolutely independent Sovereign, has his civil authorities to govern, and his troops to defend, it. To these last, therefore, exclusively belongs the military duty·

The force of Austria is entitled to garrison the citadel only, under the reservation made in her favour by Article 103 of the Treaty of Vienna. Against that article the Holy See has formally protested: still, in the present question, it does not mean to ascribe to that act of its own any but a passive effect. In the city, moreover, the same force has two barracks, and a hospital; not in virtue of any treaty reservation, but through a piece of courtesy on the part of the Papal Government, taking its rise from the insufficiency of the citadel to contain them; inasmuch as they exceed, owing to no act of ours, the numerical quota of force fixed for the occupation. The Austrian troops, therefore, are not quartered within Ferrara, except upon the footing of hospitality, and subject to all its obligations.

"Nor can it be admitted to be requisite, in order to secure such soldiers as may fail to answer the evening tattoo, or to watch over the safety of the military establishments, that the place should be patrolled by night. Since for the first named case (which, under a thoroughly well-established discipline, may be reckoned of very rare occurrence), it is enough to dispatch mere non-commissioned officers armed with the sabre; and more than ample provision for the second may be made by guards expressly destined for the care of such premises. In fact, from 1815 down to the present time, in whatever degree the absence of the soldiers from the evening call, which is now anticipated, may have been realised, it has not in consequence been thought indispensable, that the city should be perambulated by patrols at night. Lastly, the example of every city with a military garrison throughout the world has no force when applied to the case of Ferrara, because it takes for a certainty the very point which forms the subject of our present controversy.

"The safest and simplest means of re-establishing a good understanding would seem, in lieu of what has heretofore been proposed, to be as follows:

"1. That the nightly patrols should desist from traversing

the city, since the maintenance of discipline and care of the military establishments may be provided for in other modes.

"2. That the Austrians should relinquish the gates of the city and the great guard-house, as the Pontifical Government is ready to fill their place with its own troops of the line; it being however clearly understood that the civic guard be at liberty to discharge its ordinary duties.

"Nor does it seem that the Government of Austria can decline such propositions, inasmuch as Field-marshal Count Radetzki has stated, that he caused the aforesaid military posts of the city to be occupied for the reason that the civic guard was not yet organised; and because he could not sufficiently rely on the persons who composed it. With the substitution, then, of troops of the line, the ground on which possession was taken of the before-mentioned posts by the imperial troops, disappears; and hence there is no reason why matters should not be restored, in like manner, on the part of the Austrian authorities, to the *statu quo*."

The Court of Rome had, as has been mentioned, commissioned Count Cristoforo Ferretti to perform in Milan all such mediating offices as he might think most applicable, and had given notice hereof to M. Usedom, in order that he might not further concern himself in that matter. In the meantime, the Court was awaiting a reply to the letter that the Pope had addressed to the Emperor; but this reply lingered, because the Emperor was not in such a state, physically and intellectually, that he could be allowed to write with his own hand, as the Aulic usages required. The Viceroy of Milan gave Ferretti to understand, that he was anxious for an accommodation with Rome; even General Fiquelmont indicated a conciliatory spirit; and both one and the other laid on Marshal

Radetzki the blame of the proceedings at Ferrara, and of the impediments to a prompt adjustment: and Ferretti, who was sincerely devoted to the Pontiff, and anxious for the tranquillity as well as the honour of his country, studied to mitigate both the susceptibility of Fiquelmont in regard to the obsequies celebrated in Ferrara for the brothers Bandiera, and the obstinacy of Radetzki, without either accepting or tendering any proposal derogatory to the rights and dignity of the Pontifical Government. In the middle of October, it seemed as if the negotiations were tending towards a favourable issue, when Radetzki threatened to resign, if satisfaction were given to Rome in any terms distasteful to himself and to the army; and the representatives of Austria hereupon became afresh pertinacious and impracticable. Add that, in the evening of the 14th of October, an Austrian sentinel in Ferrara fired his piece at a townsman, and other soldiers struck with their sabres other peaceable persons; of which the blame was imputed, by the Austrians, to those who received the injury, as having uttered menaces or reproaches. Again, on the 17th, the soldiers offered violence to a Count Graziadei, a Councillor of Legation, fourscore years old or more; and to Costabili, Colonel of the Civic Guard. From these casualties, Fiquelmont took occasion to complain, not however of the Austrian troops, but of the people of Ferrara, and yet more of the writings, which he called revolutionary; a name by which he characterised all that spoke of the independence of Italy. In the first instance, Austria was

opposed to the embodying and arming of the Civic Guard at Ferrara; afterwards she made pretensions to reckon it as a permanent force, and to keep up a garrison equal to it in numerical strength; then she played fast and loose upon the right of patrolling the town, upon the watchword, and upon the command of the Piazza. Rome would have wished to bring matters back to the state in which they stood before July; and stood upon her right, rebutting the pleas of Austria in the manner set forth by the note of the 19th of October, which I here publish:—

"Prince Metternich has several times declared the impracticability of an accommodation between the Holy See and the Imperial Roman Government, as long as the pure and simple return of matters to the *statu quo* is pressed for. His Highness conceived, that in demanding the restoration of the *statu quo* a wish was signified to procure the retirement of the Austrian troops from the city, on the ground that they had not entered therein by right. And hence he has insisted on shifting the question over to the ground of *fact*, without prejudice for either party to the question of *right*. Otherwise, so said the Prince, Austria would do nothing less than commit suicide.

"We have deemed it vital to resist to the uttermost the interpretation that has been given to Article 103. of the Treaty of Vienna, which extended the reservation therein made to garrisoning the town of Ferrara. This being so, we could care little, or rather not at all, for the mere question of words, so long as, in handling the matter of fact, there was no prejudice to the question of right.

"Accordingly, in the remarks we made on an unofficial memorandum without date or signature, which, as we have learned in confidence, was drawn up by Count Fiquelmont, we have abstained from insisting on the formal *statu quo*,

without, however, abandoning it: and, setting out in our negotiations from a point of view purely political, namely, that of an immense interest, common to both parties, in the tranquillity of Italy, we have been asking in other terms for the same thing. Under these circumstances, Prince Metternich has found the way to an understanding open; and has seen that Austria might make concessions as to her mode of action, and yet not stain herself with her own life-blood. And here it is well to observe, that Count Fiquelmont himself did not hesitate to make known to the Commander Cristoforo Ferretti, that he thought that the remarks of the Secretary of State, in reply to his dispatch to Count Lutzow, were reasonable; and that, upon the basis of these, he considered that the affair would be, without doubt, brought to an accommodation.

"Subsequently, Prince Metternich, in conversation with Monsignor Viale upon our remarks before mentioned, said that he acknowledged they laid the ground for an understanding, subject to some modifications which he conceived to be of slight moment, and which were desired by the army. We have yet to see what these modifications may be. If they should happen to touch the question of right, they could not be in any manner admitted by us, for the same reason which made Austria wish that we should recede from the *statu quo*. That is, we must keep in view not only the letter of the propositions we have made, but surely also their spirit, as it stands connected with the antecedent discussions, out of which in the way of natural consequence they are sprung.

"The first proposition was, 'that the night patrols should cease to traverse the town, as provision could otherwise be made for the care of discipline, and of the military establishments.' These modes of providing for the double end in view (which were explained in our observations on the note of M. Fiquelmont) are alike applicable to the direct lines which lead from the two barracks to the fortress, and which Count Usedom thought might be patrolled by the Austrian troops. To give countenance to such a proposition would be to nar-

row our general demand for the cessation of the night-patrols within the city. It would be military duty (whatever its immediate purpose), if not of, yet certainly in, the Pontifical city of Ferrara. It would be a connivance on our part, which, at a future day, might be pressed as an argument *ad hominem* in the question of right. Finally, it would imply that we were prepared to keep alive a portion of the rancour, which is awakened in our own and in the other States of Italy, by the presence of a force on service, and yet not indigenous, in a city depending on the Holy See.

"There is indeed the case of an absolute necessity, which, according to the trite axiom, that 'necessity has no law,' might in a certain sense bear us all harmless. But such a case we can by no means anticipate, on account of the known moderation of the people of Ferrara; and besides, it would still exclude the habitual patrolling of the direct line above mentioned; and in any case, a real and absolute need of such a nature must always be recognised as of that character by the local authority too; nor could an extraordinary measure of this kind subsist beyond the term, during which a need of that description might be made good, in the common judgment of the two authorities.

"The second proposition was,

"'That the Austrians should relinquish the gates of the city and the great guard-house, since the Government was ready to fill their place with its own troops of the line.'

"This condition is too clear to require comment.

"It is, however, necessary to bear in mind, and to declare afresh, and in writing, as occasion may arise, that the Holy Father, while giving way in this point to the instances of Austria, never ceases to maintain his plenary right to provide, with such forces as he thinks best, for the cities under his rule. And as this undeniable right of sovereignty has been seriously infringed by the forcible occupation of the great guard-house, and of the four gates of the city, some reparation will accordingly be required, which might be obtained, if, while we substitute a guard of the line at the above-named

military posts, we at the same time provide, that the Civic Guard shall, according to the destination already given it by the most Eminent Legate, supply the great guard-house, at least on one day of the week, for example, on Sunday, to the same extent as is the usual practice in the so-called Royal Guard stationed at the Quirinal.

"The third was,

"'That the Civic Guard should be at liberty to discharge its duties (those described in the Regulations on the subject), it being well understood, that it shall also continue to discharge those other duties in which it is actually engaged. Otherwise, at the very moment when, in one respect, matters would be restored to the state in which they were, they would in another be altered from the state in which they are.'

"Furthermore, the following points may become subjects of discussion:

"1. The recall, more or less prompt, of the reinforcement.

"2. The watchword, which Prince Metternich seems to consider we might be disposed to leave to the Imperial Commandant.

"As to the first point, it is to be remarked, that the Pontifical Cabinet characterised the measure adopted by Austria as untimely, and the circumstances of the entry as hostile, and therefore calculated to provoke sanguinary reaction. Yet it is also to be remarked, that the Cardinal Legate did not protest against the reinforcement and its entry absolutely; but on the contrary lent his aid, with every courtesy, to find lodgings for the officers within the town of Ferrara. Hence it will be right to urge, that the recall of the reinforcement shall take effect at the earliest practicable period; but this could not be exacted as among the conditions necessary in order to arrive at an accommodation. This recall, however, cannot but form the object of a most lively wish on the part of the Holy Father, which there is no colourable reason for resisting, while there are very many which should lead both parties to promote it with the anxiety which we desire.

"I come now to the watchword. This either supposes an

intermixture of duty, or it does not. In the first case, no watchword for the two services in common could be admitted, without implicitly admitting the right we have invariably contested, of military duty to be performed by Austria, however limited as to space, in the interior of the city of Ferrara. Or else, intermixture of duty is not absolutely implied; still, it is judged necessary for independent reasons. And in this case, the watchword, in all capitals, especially those of Germany, from Vienna downwards, is an inalienable personal function of the Sovereign: nor could the exercise of such a right be devolved upon any one, unless on the individual invested with the high dignity of representing in Ferrara the territorial Sovereign. All this may serve to meet, by way of anticipation, the replies we await from Vienna. When these shall have arrived, I may possibly have occasion for further remarks."

At this period, Count Cristoforo Ferretti judiciously considered that it would be expedient to set entirely apart the question of the rights of each party, and, while leaving these intact, to direct the negotiations exclusively to the object of arranging the military question. Rome approved of this idea, which was not disagreeable to Austria; and accordingly, in the end of October, the negotiations took that new direction. I shall shortly state how they proceeded and were brought to completion; because it seems to me improper to pass by any of the evidence relating to the question of Ferrara, which proved so potent a stimulus to the Italian agitation. For the present, it will be worth while to turn our eyes towards the other States of Italy.

CHAP. VII.

TUSCANY. — CHANGE OF TEMPER FOR THE WORSE. — THE CLANDESTINE PRESS. — PETITION TO THE SOVEREIGN. — LAW OF MAY 8. ON THE PRESS, AND TUSCAN JOURNALISM. — COMMISSIONS OF REFORM. — POLITICAL PARTIES. — SINISTER EVENTS. — THEIR RESULTS. — RESENTMENTS. — PETITIONS FOR THE CIVIC GUARD. PROCRASTINATION. — THREATS OF AUSTRIA. — THE CIVIC GUARD PROCLAIMED AS AN INSTITUTION OF THE STATE ON SEPTEMBER 4. — REJOICINGS. — THE 12TH OF SEPTEMBER. — THE TRICOLOR FLAGS. — ILL FEELING TOWARDS AUSTRIA. — COSIMO RIDOLFI IN THE MINISTRY. — THE DUKE OF LUCCA AND HIS SON. — DEMONSTRATION AT THE BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER. — CONCESSIONS. — REJOICINGS. — FLIGHT OF THE DUKE. — UNION OF LUCCA WITH TUSCANY. — CHARLES ALBERT. — EFFECT OF THE REFORMS AT ROME, AND THE EVENTS OF FERRARA, ON HIS MIND. — HIS OFFERS TO THE POPE. — AGRICULTURAL MEETING AT CASALE. — LETTER OF THE KING. — EXCITEMENT. — ADDRESS OF THE CASALE MEETING. — REFORMS IN PIEDMONT. — REJOICINGS. — THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES. — OBSTRUCTIVENESS THERE. — MOVEMENTS AT REGGIO AND MESSINA. — PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS. — USE OF FORCE BY THE GOVERNMENT. — LANGUAGE OF M. THIERS. — PARMA. — MODENA. — LOMBARDY. — MILAN. — REJOICINGS AT THE BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER. — RESORT TO FORCE, AND BLOODSHED. — USE OF FORCE CONTINUED. — SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS AT VENICE. — THE PRINCE OF CANINO. — MANIFESTATIONS AT VENICE. — AUSTRIAN POLICE. — BLIND RESISTANCE. — THE BASES OF THE CUSTOMS LEAGUE DETERMINED ON NOVEMBER 3. — MONSIGNOR CORBOLI AT MODENA.

IN Tuscany, both the Government and the people were of mild disposition. By reciprocal influences, each was attempered not only to civilisation, but to the easy refinement which follows it when of long

date. They had never been more than superficially harassed by the modern Sects, and by the savage political factions of Romagna. The proscripts of the Roman State had long before been generously entertained in Tuscany, and although in these last years, through the influence of Austria, and because of the umbrage taken by the Court of Rome, hospitality was less readily granted them, still they were always tolerated there more or less. The kindly Tuscans felt for the misery of their neighbours; friendly and helpful to the oppressed, they made the oppressors into enemies; lovers of a free condition, both by inheritance and by their cultivated nature, they were now warming themselves at the fire of liberty so near them; the youth in their schools, and a portion of the commonalty of the cities, from the example of their neighbours and their guests, was undergoing its apprenticeship in political agitation. The sects moreover were taking root here and there; principally in Leghorn, a soil well fitted for it, which the exiles were enabled to till with ease. Towards the end of the reign of Gregory, and at the beginning of that of Pius IX., some of the Ministers had obtained for themselves, and for the Government, a name less good than theretofore. They were, or appeared to be, adherents of the Company of Jesus, which was endeavouring to burrow into Tuscany, and to build its nest there; they aided and favoured the Police, modelled on that of Austria; they regulated themselves by the advice of Austrian functionaries, more than beseemed the ministers of an independent State.

Hence, scarcely had the Tuscans seen Pius IX. commence his reforms, when they felt a keen desire for the civil advancement and the political institutions, for which they were in truth better prepared than any other Italian people; and they took to upbraiding the Government, and singing hymns in the Pope's honour, while they showed a change of temper for the worse. The clandestine press became so busy, that not a day passed in which it did not emit some satire, or petition for reforms, or other incentive to the people; nor could the Police, nor its most loathsome tools, control it: for these productions were disseminated everywhere, posted up on the corners, circulated in the theatres, in the mansions of the great, and in the Royal Palace. Some citizens then began to advise the Government to correct these ill humours by wise concessions; and when they found private representations fail, they presented to the Sovereign a public petition to the same effect. The honoured name of Gino Capponi may of itself suffice to testify how goodly and elect a company they were, who thus used their influence on behalf both of the Tuscan people, and of tempered monarchy. Nor was it in vain; for on the 8th of May was promulgated a law, that relaxed the fetters of the press, to the great satisfaction of the public. There were universal rejoicings; which in Leghorn degenerated into disorders, and insults to the Austrian Consul. The *Patria*, the *Italia*, the *Alba*, and other minor and less known journals, came into being. The first was solid and almost invariably temperate: it was

written by Salvagnoli, Lambruschini, and Ricasoli, persons very highly esteemed. The second was mystical and frothy, edited by Montanelli. The third was stirring and bellicose: La Farina, a Sicilian, conducted it. Tuscan Journalism speedily gained great influence in the Roman States. The *Alba* was a powerful agent in exciting popular passions.

On the 31st of the same month, Leopold II. appointed a Commission to compile a civil code, answerable to the social, moral, and economical exigencies of the State; and another for the penal code, which was specially charged to define clearly the powers of interference attaching to the department of Police. At the same time, he turned his attention to the Municipal System, and to the Council of State; and he convoked for the month of August an assembly of Notables, while giving the assurance that he was engaged in considering how best to enlarge the ancient and indigenous institution of the *Consulta*, and then suitably to extend its share in public affairs. As these reforms inspired satisfaction into the friends of change, and uneasiness into its enemies, so by degrees it happened that the germs of political parties far from temperate began to burst, and that the stupidity of one side, and the ill intention of their opponents, produced one untoward miscarriage or another. There were such at Leghorn, at Siena, and elsewhere; commotions, excesses, bloody conflicts; casualties so much the more grave and scandalous from their happening in Tuscany, which had always been the sojourn of unsuspecting quiet and habitual security. And in pro-

portion as they were strange, they heated the imagination more powerfully, while there grew up an apprehension and suspicion of machinations organised on an extended scale. The Police was in ill odour; the slackness of the Government caused disgust; the Austrian agents, I mean Neumann, Schnitzer, Metzburg, a swarm of mischief-makers, were detested. Then came the events at Rome, followed by those of Ferrara; and the public excitement overboiled. Austria challenged, or seemed to challenge, Italy: her resurrection appeared to be menaced by her deadly foe, who fostered the cliques of retrogradists within her; and the flame of a national resentment streamed up from Tuscany. Pilgrimages were made to Gavinana: men dedicated their souls to their country in the Church of *Santa Croce*, where rest the remains of personages more than human: Ferruccio and Pier Capponi, names appalling to the insolence of the stranger, were deified. But the people of Tuscany had become unused to arms; the corrupt stock of the later Medici had deadened its impulses, which the family of Lorraine had omitted to reinvigorate by encouragements to military discipline and training. Now, therefore, the evil of this want of force began to be acutely felt; and, accordingly, arms and military arrangements were loudly demanded. There were thousands of petitions in favour of a Civic Guard, on the ground of order and security as they stated, but it was really wished for defence, and as a bulwark to their nascent liberties. The Government temporised; perhaps not so much from disliking it, as because this was the nature

of the men and of the system, and perhaps yet more because the Austrian functionaries and agents bristled up, and threatened intervention, if arms were given to the people; inasmuch as Austria, strong and disciplined, in the midst of the weak and disjointed Italian populations, cannot brook their having arms, no, not even in jest. But at last, whether it was that the demands were stronger than the opposition to them, or that encouragement from England removed the fear of an intervention by Austria, or that the nearer alarm of intestine disturbances outweighed the more remote, Leopold II. directed the *Consulta* to give its opinion upon the petitions for the Civic Guard; and, as that opinion proved favourable, on the 4th of September he proclaimed it an institution of the State. Great was the public joy: the thronging people held festivities after the Roman fashion, and flocked to the Pitti Palace. The Grand Duke greeted them from the balcony; for, in order to please the masses, it was requisite to imitate the Pope in everything. The royal authority was on the decline; it was in effect descending from the balcony to the street. The authority of the multitude was rising, reckoning its forces, and on the look-out for opportunities of popular gatherings. The institution of the Civic Guard furnished a grand one, nor was it let slip; and as Florence is not, like Rome, in the middle of a desert, but has a hundred walled towns round it, the popular demonstration, as an exhibition of force, surpassed those of Rome, and bore the appearance not only of the festival and muster of one town, but of a festival

and muster of the entire Tuscan people. On the 12th of September, every city, every Province, every town of Tuscany, sent up deputies with the old banners inherited from the Republics; the country folks flocked into the towns by thousands; even priests and friars arrayed themselves under their flags; the Americans, the Swiss, the French, the Spanish, the Greeks, the English, the Germans, each had theirs; perhaps thirty thousand persons walked in procession to the Cathedral, to sing the hymn of thanksgiving to God. Then they went to the Pitti Palace, where the Sovereign, with the Tuscan flag, returned from the balcony the salutations of the flood of people below. But among the people was to be seen, besides the banners of foreign nations, and of the other Italian States, not that of Tuscany alone; on that day some tricolor flags were hoisted in Florence, and many quadricolor, because the yellow of the Pontiff had been added as a conciliatory modification, though it was not easy to persuade the people of Leghorn to agree to this addition. Nor were the acclamations only for Italy, Pius IX., Leopold II., and Gioberti, but likewise for Capponi, and the poet Niccolini, and Ferruccio, and Savonarola, and all the glorious names of Italy, both ancient and modern, including the brothers Bandiera, who had died in the recent struggles for freedom. The statues of Ferruccio and of Pier Capponi were honoured with reverential regard; and were encircled with tricolor and other banners, on which was written, "To the encampment of Forlì," while there were cries for war with Austria, and

for proffering to Rome an alliance with its people. Austria, indeed, had fallen into such odium, that the Government was obliged to keep an armed guard at the Palace of the Legation and in its neighbourhood. Cosimo Ridolfi, a name that sounds honourably amidst the most distinguished and honoured names of Tuscany, was at that time preferred to the head of the department of the interior.

At Lucca, Duke Charles Louis of Bourbon, noted for mutability of ideas and plans in every thing, including religion, and for dissolute conduct in his youth, had with the progress of his years, as easily and frequently happens, glided out of unbelief and dissipation into a gloomy fanaticism, and out of a certain sort of courtly libertinism, which was called royal liberalism, into the harshness of a puny Lord. It is said, that Duke Francis IV. of Modena worked the miracle of his conversion by a loan of money, which Charles Louis coveted like a miser, and spent like a prodigal, so that he was always, so to speak, out at elbows. It is certainly true that for several years he looked sour upon the Liberals, started at his own shadow, corresponded with the Duke of Modena, and lived secluded from intercourse with the world; and in order to be spared the annoyance of disagreeable advice, he had named for his minister Thomas Ward, an Englishman, formerly his groom and valet. When the time of the Roman and Tuscan reforms arrived, he made epigrams on the Pope and on Leopold, and testified his aversion to every sort of change, as a champion of absolutism, and fast friend of Austria. He

would not have rejoicings for Pius IX.; on the 29th of May, he caused the police constables to charge the youth, who were celebrating the anniversary of the battle of Legnano; he issued severe and menacing edicts; he removed from office Fornaciari, an excellent magistrate, who, in proof of his devotion, had sought to warn him of the perils of his ill-advised proceedings. His only son Charles Ferdinand, who had served in Piedmont, was of dissolute manners, employed whips and cudgels to keep his subjects in order, and took pleasure in playing the gendarme and bum-bailiff. But at the last the Lucchese made those dastard spirits tremble, by a popular gathering; and, on the 1st of September, the father and son promised to concede all that the Grand Duke of Tuscany had given, — nay, even all that he might thereafter grant. Then they accepted the salutations of the triumphal crowd, and returned them, coming to the balcony of the palace to dally with them, as was the fashion; after which they covertly retired to Massa in the Modenese. They subsequently fled elsewhere, and drove a bargain for the cession of their life interest in Lucca to the Duke of Tuscany. So set these not brilliant luminaries behind the Austrian planet, to rise again shortly upon the throne of Parma, where we shall find them hereafter, in company of the Croats, and governing Croat-wise. In the meantime the Duchy of Lucca went into the Tuscan family; and thus another Italian province was consoled with the gift of civil reforms, and warmed at the fire of Italian liberty.

I have said, in the preceding Book, that Charles Albert was upon indifferent terms with Austria, at the time of the death of Pope Gregory XVI. When Pius IX. had ascended the supreme seat of pardon, when the name of the reforming Pontiff was extolled to the stars, and when rumours had gone about respecting the obstacles which opposed his advancing securely and with dispatch, Charles Albert was liberal in his encouragements. Again, after the forcible occupation of Ferrara, when it was known how keenly the Pope felt it, and how it stirred the spirit of his subjects, that pious Prince of the House of Savoy thought it alike a duty and an honour to offer to the chief of Catholicism either an asylum, or succours in ships and men, as he might need and desire; and the Italian king, who had *J'attends mon astre* engraven on his shield, thought that the light of the long looked-for star had risen, charged with blessings for Italy. That Christian monarch, of a nature so chivalrous as to be hard of comprehension for us flighty modern rhetoricians, studied the Sacred Volume; and, searching out there the sentences of God's malediction upon foreign domination, he thus attuned his mind to a religion which exalted patriotism into an heavenly sphere, and to Heaven he devoted himself in a crusade for Italy. And since God appeared to permit her enemies so to lose their senses as to become the oppressors of his Vicar upon earth, that mystical soul of his prognosticated a divine blessing upon the sword that was to avenge the trampled rights of Christian nations, and glowed devoutly with a pas-

sion for Italian independence. Hence he offered to be champion to the Pope; hence he received with scorn the complaints of Austria against the political innovations of Central Italy; hence he opened his mind, long habituated to reserve, and let pass words disdainful of foreign domination. The people of Piedmont and of Liguria had already shown, by plain signs, how deeply they felt the dignity of their Italian character, and their trustful longing after better fortunes.

That year the Piedmontese Agricultural Association held its anniversary at Casale; and the citizens of all ranks, who flocked to it in crowds, even from the neighbouring state of Lombardy, were more absorbed by the destinies of their country, than by theories of farming. Bishop Calabiana, by his presence, and by his high-minded language, awakened the image of that sisterhood of religion and freedom, which all at that time longed to see, and which alone can beget the great achievements that give life and liberty to nations. The conversation was about reforms and civil progress; the wish was for the resurrection of Italy; and men's minds had already warmed with the noblest affections, when they noticed a letter delivered to the Count of Castagneto, an intimate friend of the King. Some persons were allowed to peruse it. "I write to you," such were the words of Charles Albert, "only two lines, because there is much to be done. Austria has sent round a note to all the Powers, in which she declares her intention to keep Ferrara, as she conceives she has the right. On

my return from Racconigi, I found a great crowd in front of the palace, most decorous in conduct, and without any outcry. If Providence shall ordain a war for the independence of Italy, I will mount on horseback with my sons, will place myself at the head of my army, and will do what Sciamil is now doing in Russia. How glorious will be the day in which the cry of war shall be 'Italian independence!'" Human speech is ill able to express the strong affections of the mind. I do not therefore search for phrases to describe the effect produced by that letter on the heart of the assemblage, and thus, in succession, of Piedmont and of Italy, that confided in the Subalpine king and in his gallant people. The meeting at Casale framed an address to Charles Albert, thanking him for his magnanimous language, and entreating the accomplishment of his great work, with tenders of life and substance, and predictions of an era new in Italian history.

Demonstrations, more or less noisy, took place at Casale, Genoa, and Alessandria, and in many other cities and places. There was afterwards some commotion at Turin; agitation grew at Genoa, and throughout the Sardinian State; but towards the close of October, and in November, the sentiment, which had been one of anxiety, setting astir expectations, hopes, and desires, changed into a burst of joy, because Charles Albert, having first relaxed the bonds of the press, cancelled the fiscal exemptions; improved the arrangements for the administration of justice, deprived the Police of that power which is

termed "economic," but really signifies uncontrouled discretion, enlarged and amended the Council of State, founded on a broader basis the institution of provincial and divisional Councils, emancipated the Communes, and invigorated these bodies with the vivifying element of popular election. I will not dwell on the rejoicings that followed: on what has proved idle, it would be idle now to spend words; but I must point out, that, as Piedmont had preceded the other reforming Italian States in the road of change, their emulation grew into a rage, while distempered humours rose and were aggravated in those quarters where a blind resistance was opposed to the ever-swelling torrent.

The kingdom of Naples, or, to speak more correctly, what the Restorers of 1815 have thought fit to call the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, is the portion of Italy which, from the bitterness and inveteracy of its political factions, has suffered the most serious and violent disturbances and calamities. It is not for me to give an account of them; and I thank God for it, because the spirit is troubled at the remembrance of such great afflictions, and the pen too droops, while bootlessly dispensing infamy to those who by their acts have earned it. This only it is my part to recall to the memory of men, that in proportion as the example of the forgiveness so recently conferred by the Vicar of Christ on his grateful people was signal, so the Government of Naples grew more harsh; and as the States of Rome, Piedmont, and Florence advanced in civilisation, so did that of Naples the more recede towards barbarism.

Not, indeed, that its systems and institutions, judicial or administrative, were barbarous: on the contrary, they were less defective than elsewhere, and in some points highly civilised; but there was this, the worst of all barbarisms, the pest of all civilisation, that the law was mocked and trodden under foot, and exclusively in the hands of the abandoned fraternity of tax-gatherers and spies. These, even while they were chanting the praises of Pius IX., Charles Albert, and Leopold, insulted the common sense of the public by declaring through the press, that Naples had for a long time been blessed with laws and institutions better than those for which such shouts were then sent up to heaven. Thus, to the disgrace of trampling on the laws was joined the impudent vaunt of it, and scorn, the sharpest of torments, was added to oppression. The Neapolitans and Sicilians joyously saluted the dawn of an Italian resurrection; and that blessed name of Pius IX., which was its talisman, encouraged them to undergo the toils, and to submit to the sufferings, that ripen the opportunities and the destinies of mankind. In the first days of September, 1847, a handful of daring fellows rose at Reggio in Calabria, and at Messina, shouting "Long live Pius IX. and Italy;" and in other places the conspiracy threatened to break out into further attempts. The Government every where got the better, and this out of all sight; then followed arrests, the state of siege, councils of war, the brutal licence of the army. But after the events of Reggio, the innovators determined to fight their battle by

civil courage, rather than with arms, in which they were few and feeble. Accordingly they gave themselves to writing, printing, and publicly shouting through the streets of the capital, for Pius IX., Italy, and the reforming Sovereigns. To this the notorious Del Carretto, who was minister, and others of the same and of a yet worse stamp, caused reply to be made with musketry, nor could any means be found of softening this mode of resistance. The Italian cities were at this time reeking with the fumes of popular levity, and moreover with that which is the most innocent of the follies of kings, namely, the love of popular applause. Nor were the Neapolitans backward in fondling their King too; but when they offered caresses, they were met with bayonets. Hence it was that M. Thiers afterwards said from the tribune of the French Parliament, when speaking on the affairs of Italy, "that one king only, he of Naples, presented the sword's point to the people, who were flocking around him; and that people fell on it."

But in truth the King of Naples was not the only Sovereign in Italy, that presented the sword's point to those who were hailing the dawn of tempered monarchy, and to the friends of a state of freedom and of the independence of their country; inasmuch as the Austrian Maria Louisa, Duchess of Parma, if she did not order (for she was of a profligate and lax rather than a cruel disposition), yet permitted a police, that had run mad, to prohibit the public collections, which it was wished to make in honour

of the Pontiff, and to lay hands on any one who shouted his name, which seemed fateful, and sounded terrible to the cliques of Retrogradists, and to the satellites of Austria. At Modena, in like manner, the Duke, a youngster, whom they held in servitude rather than in guardianship, allowed a government, worthy even of his father's name, to be carried on in his own, dealt in threats of punishment, and childishly trumpeted himself as the general and vanguard of the force of Austria on this side the Po. In the meantime Austria treated him with soldiers, that he might be enabled to hold in by the bit the discontented subjects whom he was so bad at holding by attachment; and who at Modena, Reggio, Massa, and Carrara were in commotion, and defied his senseless opposition.

But there was greater resistance, and fiercer passion in those unfortunate Italian provinces, where Austria is mistress in virtue of that hoary injustice, which civilised and Christian nations do not yet blush to call the right of conquest. At Milan, where the public mind was impatient of that harsh and suspicious domination, and was kindled at the fire that was gliding from one end of Italy to the other, festivities were in preparation at the beginning of September to do honour, in the person of the new Archbishop Romilli, to the choice made by that Pius IX., who had won the heart of Italy. The police, which was in the hands of a certain Torresani, with one Bolza and other pitiless officers, testified its ill humour with the municipal body, which was managing the

preparations, and was presided over by the respected Count Casati. When at length, after abundance of military precautions, and of annoyances from the Censorship, the festivities were authorised, it uncoupled its myrmidons among the masses of the towns-people, that they might dog the footsteps of the suspected, and, under pretence of maintaining order, might provoke a tumult. But the 5th passed quietly: the applauses for the Archbishop alternated with the hymns for Pius IX., while the city was all joy with its illumination and its exulting multitude. The police took note of the shouts of applause for Italy, and of insult to the Jesuits, and, it is said, bid its officers get their cutlasses sharp. On the 8th the procession repaired to the Cathedral. The streets were illuminated anew, and were thronged with the applauding people; but when in the evening there occurred some hubbub, of the kind that readily happens in a crowd, the policemen burst in and ordered, in a menacing and insolent manner, that the applause and the pastime should cease. And because the townsmen would not stop for them, they took to their weapons, and began both to lay about them, and to make arrests. Bolza was then seen approaching with a fresh and larger body of police. Upon this the crowd, thinking it the best way, poured out of the square of the Cathedral into the Piazza Fontana, his men treading on their heels: he then let loose his bullies, who, with their short arms, dealt wounds about them by stealth. At the sight of blood, the people was aroused, invoked Pius IX. and Italy, rushed upon the aggressors, and

routed them. The gendarmes, who had been called in aid by the police, held back, used no violence, and gave good advice. The Archbishop came down into the *Piazza*, besought the people to be mild, and gave the benediction. And that blessing of the priest appeased the passions, which the steel had exasperated. The next day the death-stricken city counted the victims and wept over them. They were old men, women, and children. In the evening every thing was calm, except the spirit of the police, which was athirst for blood. Milan swarmed with men in arms; the cannon was got ready for action; the generals headed their soldiers, as on the field of battle. And where was the foe? The populace were athrong from curiosity, as is common when there is display and preparation of forces; but they were still. The police-guards were flown with wine. Some say there was uttered a cry of death to the Germans, either by some crack-brained fellow, or by some hired incendiary. At that cry, the police and soldiers charged: "Give it them, give it them;" and they began to hunt down the townsmen, and continued until midnight. This was in the heart of the city: at San Lorenzo there was another hubbub, and another attack. Some persons were slain, and more wounded. The city indignantly complained. The Governor made excuses, and said he would look into it. He did: the police raised a cry of accusation against the people, and the next evening the soldiers and police-guards were out again; besides this, cannon were loaded, and fresh blows were struck. Thus

it was that the stranger thought to resist and to restrain, when he was only inflaming an hatred centuries old. The Milanese laid up those wrongs in their hearts; time was ripening their revenge; in the meanwhile, they made ready for resistance, opposing, in the manner I shall presently relate, civil courage to the insolence of the soldiery.

The meeting of men of science for Italy was held that year in Venice. Few repaired thither from the re-enlivened provinces of Italy. Of the Romans, the Prince of Canino, ever a lover of spectacles, attended. After having in Rome made a noise at the Palazzo di Sardegna, and insulted Cardinal Ferretti, he passed through Tuscany in the uniform of the Civic Guard, with his retinue of puppets, and exhibited at Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence. They harangued the people, made the benches of cafés and the balconies of inns their stage, and extemporised in prose and verse. Thus the Sovereign was in the streets, and called himself by the name of People: what wonder that even Princes should pay him court and amuse him? Ancient custom forsooth! — But Venice was not as yet a fit scene for these pranks: the Prince tried his hand there with an imposing air, but the masters of the place cut short his enterprise, and sent him off to the confines. The triumph of his return was of course so much the greater: he was now a victim! The men of science and the Austrians were quit of that diversion, or disgust, whichever you please; but still the meeting was what it could not fail to be in such times as then were passing, — an *Accademia* on

the resurrection of Italy; and it gave opportunity to the Italians, who were subjects of Austria, to draw together both among themselves, and with Italians of the other provinces, to confer upon the means of resistance to the domination of the foreigner, and to pave the way for higher destinies. Already, in the Queen of the Lagunes, and in all the Venetian provinces, as well as in Lombardy, was sung the hymn to Pius IX., then the votive chant of all Italians.

Austria thought that the stir in Italy was mere sham, and to be combatted in the usual and classical manner of her police. For the books and journals, her astounding remedy was the censorship; for the spirit of freedom, the gaol; and for the spirit of independence, the bayonet. A singular proof of the meanness of the conceptions from which suspicious absolutism takes its tone, is supplied by a paper, which the director of the police of Venice wrote on the subject of the Italian journals. The Austrian magistrate made this strange discovery, that the Italians, conscious of the powerlessness of sects and plots, had applied themselves to the work of peaceful opposition, and had entrusted to the press the chief agency in the work of revolution! And here he scourges the literary *propaganda*, clubs together all the journals and all the books, which he terms revolutionary; and ties with one and the same cord Cesare Balbo and Filippo de Boni, the *Contemporaneo* and the *Amico del Contadino*, the *Felsineo* and the *Euganeo;* he abuses Charles Albert; and then, by way of remedy, the wiseacre proposes simply to prohibit

all the journals, and all the books, of what he calls the Italian *propaganda*.

Austria, in a word, believed, that the desire for political reforms and for the liberty of the nation was not, in truth, the result of a want profoundly felt, and of the investigations of wise and lofty spirits, but a frivolous amusement of the imagination, an intoxication of the mind, an ephemeral access of ill humours. Austria arrogated to herself the title of an indestructible monarchy, and was the strenuous champion of the doctrine which bases the State on force alone, and by repression alone encounters revolution. But it was now a term of more than thirty years, during which Europe had been toiling in this work of resistance, and spending treasures of cunning, obstinacy, and gold, to give security to despotic monarchies. The times were coming, in which a few days would suffice to dash to pieces the edifice constructed, defended, propped, with so much exertion. Yet the absolutists saw none of this! Italy was, in the words of Prince Metternich, an empty name; it was geography, and it was history; not life, nor a living nation.

At the time when Austria, with the minor princes, her allies, and with Ferdinand of Naples, had steeled herself to a resolution of inexorable resistance, the Roman, Sardinian, and Tuscan States were advancing on the road to freedom; and, moreover, on the 3rd of November, at Turin, they agreed, by means of their respective ambassadors and functionaries, upon the stipulations of the Commercial and Customs' League.

This, according to the idea of the wise, and of the Pontiff, always more persevering in this matter than any other person whatever, was to be the most effective instrument, the fountain head, and the bond, of the political League, by which Italy might hope to attain to a national existence. The excellent Monsignor Corboli, minister of the Pope, had the chief merit of this very novel Italian treaty. Furthermore, as the Pope was not disposed to stop halfway, and thought he might use his influence to bend to counsels truly Italian the other princes, into whose hands fortune had given the controul of Italian races, the honoured prelate went as envoy on the part of the Pope to the Court of Modena. But here Austria stood sentinel, jealous, and alarmed: and the Sovereign of the Duchy obeyed her implicitly. Neumann and Schnitzer did not advise only, but enjoined, and every time that the Legate of the Pope was in the way to persuade the Duke, they troubled and marred his work. Monsignor Corboli was the hope and the idol of the Modenese, who gave him all the highest proofs of it in their power: and he was surrounded by spies and policemen, watched in his hotel, nay, even in church, when he celebrated Mass. Martini, the representative of Tuscany, assisted him with good will, and with diligence, but without effect. Austria was in the ascendant at Modena. We will now go back to Rome.

CHAP. VIII.

LORD MINTO AT ROME, AND HIS PROCEEDINGS. — LETTERS OF LORD PALMERSTON. — ROSSI, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR. — FESTIVITIES ON THE MEETING OF THE CONSULTA DI STATO. — ITS MEMBERS HAVE AN AUDIENCE OF THE POPE. — AN INCIDENT. — THE CIRCOLO ROMANO. — THE CIRCOLO POPOLARE TAKES ITS RISE WHILE MONSIGNOR SAVELLI IS MINISTER OF POLICE.—THE MUNICIPALITY OF ROME IS INSTALLED ON THE 24TH OF NOVEMBER. — MONSIGNOR RUSCONI, MINISTER OF WAR.—THE "GESUITA MODERNO." — TROUBLES IN SWITZERLAND ABOUT THE JESUITS. — REJOICINGS IN ROME ON THE BREAKING UP OF THE SONDERBUND. — THE PONTIFF PERTURBED. — DEATH OF SILVANI. — MONSIGNOR FERRERI AT CONSTANTINOPLE. — CARDINAL MARINI, LEGATE AT FORLÌ. — MONSIGNOR MASSONI AT FLORENCE. — ADJUSTMENT OF THE QUESTION OF FERRARA. — CUSTOMS LEAGUE. — NEW MOTU PROPRIO ON THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. — CIRCULAR ORDER ABOUT THE PRESS.

In the autumn of this year, 1847, the respected Lord Minto arrived at Rome, and was courteously received by the Pope. A character for nobleness of spirit and clearness of head went before him, and it was said that he was come to Italy to recommend liberal reforms to all the Italian sovereigns on the part of England, and to encourage those of them, who found impediments in their way. When Lord Minto had stopped for the purpose of his mission at Turin and at Florence, he had been in intercourse with the most esteemed persons, and after his arrival in Rome he cultivated similar society with extraordinary courtesies.

Those who bristle up at the sight of every diplomatist, and who have borrowed from France even her mistrust of her well-abused Albion, were concocting in their minds suspicions of every sort about Lord Minto, and about the business which he was discharging. One believed it was to detect intrigues, and to curb revolution; another, to intrigue and to blow the flame of revolution; the ideas of every man took that direction which his own sympathies suggested, and to which his desires or apprehensions drew him. The truth is, that Lord Minto, an honourable man, and an acute diplomatist, did nothing unbecoming to either of those characters. He recommended to the sovereigns those political modifications, and that good faith, which would have given security to their Governments, and to their subjects the moderation that might have led to the establishment of liberty; in this manner he served with honour his own Government, while he deserved well of Italy. He became the butt of senseless accusations, to be disdained by history, whose business it is to found her judgments, not upon the passions and the ravings of party, but on documents and on knowledge of the facts. The letter of Lord Palmerston, since published, dated from London on the 18th of September, 1847, demonstrates that the Government of England gave instructions to Lord Minto to assure the Sardinian Government of its sincere friendship and cordial goodwill, as well as to make known to it, how inexcusable it thought the menaces of an Austrian invasion in the teeth of international law, on account

of the expected organic changes in the State. In like manner, at Florence, he was to commend the new tendency which the Government appeared to have indicated; and at Turin, Florence, and Rome, he was to study the means of conveying information of the feelings, the opinions, and the objects of England, which were summed up in the following paragraph of the same letter.

"Her Majesty's Government are deeply impressed with the conviction, that it is wise for Sovereigns and their Governments to pursue, in the administration of their affairs, a system of progressive improvement: to apply remedies to such evils as upon examination they may find to exist, and so remodel from time to time the ancient institutions of their country, so as to render them more suitable to the gradual growth of intelligence, and to the increasing diffusion of political knowledge: and Her Majesty's Government consider it to be an undeniable truth, that if an independent Sovereign, in the exercise of his deliberate judgment, shall think fit to make within his dominions such improvements in the laws and institutions of his country, as he may think conducive to the welfare of his people, no other Government have any right to attempt to restrain, or to interfere with, such an employment of one of the inherent attributes of independent sovereignty."*

As to what particularly regarded the Roman States, Lord Palmerston's instructions were as follows:—

"The present Pope has begun to enter upon a system of administrative improvement in his dominions: and it appears

* From the original in the Papers presented to Parliament by command, July, 1849, p. 129.

to Her Majesty's Government that his proceedings in those matters are, upon general principles, highly praiseworthy, and deserving of encouragement from all who take an interest in the welfare of the people of Italy.

"But, in 1831 and 1832, a peculiar combination of political circumstances induced the Governments of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, most urgently to advise the then reigning Pope to make great changes and improvements, both administrative and organic, in his dominions: and the principal improvements thus recommended were detailed in a paper, which was presented to the Roman Government by Count Lutzow, the Austrian Ambassador at Rome; and by him, in the name of the Five Powers, strongly pressed upon the Papal Government. These recommendations, however, produced no result, and were put by unattended to by the Government of the late Pope. Her Majesty's Government have not learned that as yet the reforms and improvements, effected or announced by the present Pope, have reached the full extent of what was recommended in the memorandum of 1832: and Her Majesty's Government therefore conceive that all the Powers who were parties to the framing of that memorandum are bound to encourage and to assist the Pope, as far as he may require encouragement or assistance from them, in carrying out to their full extent the recommendations given by the Five Powers to his predecessors. Such a course the British Government, at all events, is prepared to pursue; and you are authorised to give an assurance to this effect to the Roman Government, and to say that Her Majesty's Government would not see with indifference any aggression committed upon the Roman territories with a view to prevent the Papal Government from carrying into effect those internal improvements which it may think proper to adopt."*

This was the commission of Lord Minto; and with

* From the original in the Papers presented by command, July, 1819, p. 129.

this both his words and his acts agreed. Let, then, those whom the Revolutionary storm has smitten, let the fallen who have risen again, and the fallen who have not, cease to lay the blame on Lord Minto, or on England, or on any other imaginary cause of the reverses they have suffered, and of the agonies of their country. Let each man place it upon his own want of high-mindedness and courage, his own mistakes, his own faults, for each man has abundant cause. The strongest proof of the incorrigible nature of a person, or of a party, not to say of its irreparable ruin, is its showing an understanding and a conscience so hardened as not to feel its faults — not to see its mistakes — to persist in the former and in the latter, and to complain of every thing, and every body, except itself!

There were murmurs, too, against Rossi, the Ambassador of France, as sensible and as just as ordinarily proceed from the time-servers of politics, and from the intoxication of party. We Italians, babes as we are, wed ourselves to all the likes and dislikes of the French, and accordingly in 1847, true to our system, we interested ourselves for that parliamentary opposition in France, which in order to overthrow a ministry, and to hurl down its chief, cast into the abyss the Throne and the State, together with itself; and yet we thought that insatiable greediness to be glory, those clamours to be liberality, that envy against Guizot to be love for Italy. And we lisped in French fashion the French abuse of the King and Ministers of France, while Rossi, their ambassador in

Rome, was the very nightmare of our profound street-politicians. But Rossi too had from his Government (as was afterwards proved by documents shown to the writer and to others), instructions to encourage the Pope to proceed freely and expeditiously with his reforms, so that he might not run the risk of having to yield to force what he might, and ought to give of free will. This commission Rossi fulfilled with singular prudence as a diplomatist, and, what is more, with the feelings of an Italian, from which indeed he never swerved.

The thread of my narrative brings me back to Rome, and I bring back my readers into the midst of a frenzied people. On the 4th of November, the Pope went, according to the Pontifical custom, to the Church of San Carlo in the *Corso*, and the accustomed ovations, the accustomed festivities, were kept on the occasion. Afterwards they took to preparing other and greater demonstrations of joy for the 15th, on which day the Council of State was to meet. These I mention, but do not describe; with so much disgust does the mere recollection fill me. When that day arrived, the members of the Council appeared before the Pope both with manifestations of reverence, and trustful in their hearts; while with them there were mingled some meddling agitators, persons that made use of public displays for displaying themselves, and that bedizened themselves in the palace with the tribunitian authority which they had usurped in the streets. A cloud of displeasure darkened the serene countenance of the Pontiff, who told those before him, how he was

gratified to see them in his presence, how he trusted in them, how he hoped favourable results from the institution of the body, and that God would not smite Italy with the tempest that was then gathering. He then touched, with serious words and mien, upon the immoderate desires and insane hopes which inflamed some inconsiderate minds: after which he took leave of them courteously, and gave his blessing, upon which the members of the Council repaired to St. Peter's, to give thanks to the Most High. But the words of sharpness, that the Pope had pronounced, went abroad; and though every one could understand the cause of that stern language, yet those, at whom it was aimed, did not refer it so much to themselves as to the members of the Council, because it suited them to have, or pretend to have, companions in the rebuke; while, as being those that ruled in the streets, and managed all matters of acclamation and hubbub, they thought themselves a great and dignified portion of the reorganized State. It also suited their purpose to infuse into the public mind a doubt, whether the Pope was really inclined to those greater boons, which the people desired, and which the times perhaps may have required, because there is but one step from uncertainty to mistrust, and from mistrust to agitation one more; and so by degrees, when there is material of suspicion, mistrust, and agitation, it becomes too easy to excite the passions of the populace.

The leaders of the people, who by this time were accustomed to industry in the work of agitation, and the people, who not once, but a hundred times, had

been paraded in the streets, and to whom it had thus become life's blood and second nature, had actual need of excitement and of stir, so that if pleasure did not give it them, they got it from suspicion and from fear. There had been established with the licence of the Government, and with rules which had its approval, an association of respectable citizens of various classes which was called the *Circolo Romano*, where the members met to read the newspapers, and to entertain themselves innocently in conversation with their friends, as is customary in the cities of Italy. But, in such times, it was natural that politics should form the principal subject of discourse, and that the company there should assume the character of a political assembly. And such it was in fact; but prudent opinions were in the ascendant there, and to the last they so continued almost invariably. Rarely indeed did popular movements spring from the *Circolo Romano*. There were, however, people whom this moderation did not satisfy, and that could not play the teacher there at their will with good effect. These people, who, notwithstanding, frequented the place, gathered cliques outside it in the warehouses, and in the taverns. There they held forth and there they spread their nets, having it in view all the while to prepare some other place for a gathering, or rather a convention, of the people. This was soon effected; for when, in that month of November, Monsignor Savelli was summoned from Forlì, where he was Prolegate, to the department of Police, he shortly gave permission for the establishment of a club called the *Circolo Popolare*.

It was then said, and it was believed, that the Monsignore had thoughts of pitting this new association (which he hoped to controul and lead by means of his own agents) against the meeting at the *Circolo Romano;* which gave him annoyance, possibly because it exerted itself in maintaining goodwill, and in restraining passion. It is a fact, at any rate, that the Club of the People sprang up in Rome under the auspices of Monsignore Savelli, or, if this cannot be believed, it was, at any rate, during his administration of the police.

On the 24th of November was celebrated the foundation of the municipality of Rome. Its hundred councillors repaired to the Quirinal, and thence, when they had received the Papal benediction, to the Capitol. In that same month Monsignor Lavinio Spada resigned the office of Minister of War; the well known Monsignor Rusconi succeeded him, a strange being, who, in the time of Gregory, had fled from the Court and the Papal States, and had betaken himself to Naples. From thence he had returned to take office under Pius IX., and he had served him first at Ancona in the capacity of Delegate, then in the Palace as Steward, from whence he went to be Minister of War; an arrangement extraordinary in any country, excepting Rome. His intentions were good, not so his judgment; as a man, he was honourable; as a prelate, courteous; he had no capacity for government, but such appointments were the fashion of the times.

I have had already to allude, in these pages, to the aversion of the Liberals, and, I must add, of all cul-

tivated persons, to the Company of Jesus, and to those writings and books which had fostered the disinclination to it. I have now to tell how, in the middle of the current year 1847, upon the publication of the *Gesuita Moderno*, by Gioberti, this famous Company became the object of highly adverse impressions, as having been accused by that distinguished author of our social declension, of hostility to free institutions, of complicity with the stranger, and of all those moral offences, which have made the name of Jesuit a byeword for dissimulation and bad faith. Father Francesco Pellico, brother to Silvio, had defended the Company, without infusing into his work much ill blood against that writer, when he had assailed it in his *Prolegomeni;* but Father Curci had attacked him with bitterness, and in a way little worthy either of polished letters or of the Christian priesthood. This attack produced the new book of Gioberti, which I have named. It was a sharp reply, and it elicited marked applause for Gioberti, as well as much abuse of that religious society, which not only had given of late years much occasion for animadversion in France and in Italy, but was actually giving much occasion of quarrel in Switzerland.

It is well known that it had struck deep root in some cantons, and most of all in Friburg and Lucerne; the attempts at revolution, made at Lucerne in 1844, are also known, with the events that followed; the attack of the free corps, the Vaudian revolution in February, 1845, and then fresh attacks without result; a long series of calamities to Switzerland,

and of social disgraces. These increased by degrees, because on one side the party that supported the Jesuits concluded, in May, 1846, that famous League of the Seven Cantons, that is known under the German name of Sonderbund; while the other party were effecting revolutions, and making preparations for war. It was hoped that the gentle spirit of Pius IX., afflicted by those feuds, of which the Jesuits were, if not the cause, the plea (and certainly they supplied the occasion and the incentive), would devise some mode of accommodation, as Gregory had recently sought, and found, one for France. Indeed, it was said that he gave them pacific and Christian counsels; and there is no doubt, that in November he addressed to the Catholics of the Grand Council of the Grisons the language of peace, and his wishes for an accommodation, but no more. This was little, but even if greater it would have been in vain, because the time had gone by. Men were already burnishing their arms; by and bye the Federation had proclaimed war against the Sonderbund, and quickly overcame it by superiority of force. On account of this question of the Jesuits, out of which sprung the far more serious constitutional question respecting the free agency of the Cantons, a flame was all but lighted in Europe, because the Sonderbund was protected by Austria and by Prussia, the Federal Diet by England. But this is not matter for my pages; and I have touched it only that I might mention how, when on the 30th of November the defeat of the Sonderbund was known at Rome, there arose a stir in the city. Then there was

a gathering of the usual class of persons, accomplished in getting up boisterous demonstrations; they resorted to the house of the Swiss Consul, cheering on account of the victory, and then furiously imprecated death upon the Jesuits, while they were passing by Sant' Ignazio, and scouring the city. A barbarous madness! to take sides in foreign factions, to rejoice over a fratricidal war, to curse the conquered, those conquered too being Catholics, and all this in the chief city of Catholicism, and beneath the eyes of the head of the Catholics, he, moreover, being that same temporal Prince, at whose hand Rome and Italy had hoped and expected so much. Miserable country! to which its intestine factions did not suffice for giving occasions of quarrel, but she must seek beyond the Alps fresh fuel to inflame them! and pernicious agitators! who, for the pleasure of foolish exhibitions, and through brutal ignorance, thinking fit to chant at that time the funeral hymn of passion and of death over the Company of Jesus, troubled the heart and mind of the Pontiff, slighted his dignity, and led him to apprehend an attack upon his supreme spiritual authority. History inflexibly dispenses blame as justice and truth suggest; nor could I dare to appear before the public as a relator of facts, which have occurred within the fresh recollection of the living, without feeling that I had the courage to record, upon these pages, words of censure against the mad and wicked acts of any party whatsoever. Is it to be supposed that to receive rebuke is now-a-days the monopoly of sovereigns, and ministers, and great men? no! thanks

to the justice of God; thanks to history the avenger, it is administered also to the people, and still more to those who corrupt and pervert them. We were now shouting for liberty, and all the while committing outrage against those opposed to us in opinion; we professed ourselves desirous of agreement between the priesthood and the laity, and at the same time we raised the shout of death against a religious fraternity; loyal forsooth to the Prince, we at the same time sinned by disloyalty against the Pontiff; not content with reforming the State, we gave signs of wishing to become reformers, if not of the discipline of the Church, yet of its soldiery, for while we cried war against the threatening stranger, we likewise prepared it against defenceless monks. And was this good sense? was it love of the people, love of liberty, love of Italy? It was folly, it was wickedness, as I cannot but confess. What care I for the passions, that these words will stir? It is an undoubted fact, that the noisy demonstrations of the 30th of November against the Jesuits made a deep and sinister impression on the mind of the Pontiff.

On the 7th of December, the advocate Antonio Silvani, one of the members of Council for Bologna, died suddenly of a violent intestinal complaint. The city was excited by suspicions of poison, such as are common among the vulgar; they were proved false, both by the certificates of the physicians and by the *post mortem* examinations; the obsequies were celebrated with much funereal pomp. Count Giovanni Marchetti was then nominated a member of the *Consulta* in the room of Silvani.

In the same month, Monsignor Ferrari, Archbishop of Sida, set out for Constantinople, with a suite of gentlemen, in order to reciprocate those honours, which the Sultan had rendered to the Pope, through the medium of Chekib Effendi. Cardinal Marini, a cultivated and clear-headed person, went to Forlì as Legate; and Monsignor Sacconi as Nuncio to Bavaria. He had for several years been *Chargé-d'Affaires* in Tuscany, and there he had got the name of a Gregorian. In his stead Monsignor Massoni, a polished Roman Abate, went to Florence. He had conducted himself extremely well in the question of Ferrara, and had gained a character for aptitude and for devotion to Pius IX.

The affair of the Austrian occupation at Ferrara had made progress towards an accommodation, by means of the conferences between the Austrian Ambassador and the Secretary of State at Rome, and of the good offices and advice of Count Ferretti at Milan. They determined to set aside, in this new discussion, the old question of right; on the one side the Lieutenant-Marshal Auersperg was recalled from Ferrara, and on the other Cardinal Ciacchi went away on leave. Rome was then satisfied with demanding, that matters should be restored to the state in which they stood before August. Austria still higgled about marching patrols, occupying the barracks and gates, giving the word of command, and other like incidents of military discipline. The Court of Rome refused them; then concessions were made on the one side and the other, as is usual when

an accommodation is desired. I do not prolong my narrative, nor print the documents relating to these negotiations, because the question, having been brought within these bounds, cannot any longer be thought of sufficient importance to deserve particular and detailed notice. At last it was agreed, that the gates should be entrusted to troops of the standing army of the Pope, whom he was to dispatch to the spot, at the same time declaring his confidence in the Civic Guard, and reserving his right to employ it as it might best please and suit him; that the gate of the Po should be kept always open, with two sentinels, not carrying muskets, one Austrian and the other Pontifical, to prevent desertions on each side respectively, and also with a guard of the Pope's revenue-officers; that there should be no Austrian patrols; that the Austrian military should have free and direct access from the barracks of St. Benedict and St. Dominic to the Citadel, and *vice versâ;* that the Austrians should have a guard at the barracks, but that the main body of their force should be exclusively in their Citadel; and lastly, that the word of command should be given by the Pope's Legate. On the 16th of December the Government journal in Rome published the following official notice:—

"It has been agreed between the Government of His Holiness and that of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, that, without any prejudice to either party as to the question of right, the custody of the city of Ferrara should be restored to the Papal troops. The most Eminent Cardinal Ciacchi, who from urgent reasons of health had repaired to

his native place, will return to Ferrara for the express purpose of being present at the delivery, and of seeing that it is effected with good order and regularity. Let the public, setting aside all speculative hypotheses, be satisfied with knowing that the arduous negotiations, and the happy solution of this affair have been managed in such a manner, as not to compromise in the slightest degree either for the past or for the future the question of right, the dignity of the two Courts in the mode of giving effect to the arrangement, or the interests, in any point of view, of the population of Ferrara."

The Holy Father, in token of his satisfaction and acknowledgments, decorated Count Cristoforo Ferretti with the Cross of the Order of Pius. And so ended the diplomatic question of Ferrara; but so did not end that general excitement, that inflammatory action on the Italian mind, that craving for independence, to which the indiscreet provocation offered by Austria had given birth.

The following was also contained among the official notices of the Roman Government: —

"His Royal Highness the Archduke-Duke of Modena, in regard to the proposals made to him in the name of His Holiness our Lord, of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, and of His I. and R. Highness, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to join the Customs League, has answered, that while peculiar circumstances require him to deliberate more maturely before recognising its utility for his own subjects, he nevertheless at once, and with pleasure, declares that the break of territory, occasioned by the Duchy of Massa and Carrara, between the Sardinian and Tuscan States, shall offer no impediment to the full operation of the League already concluded between the States aforesaid."

And so came to a stand-still the negotiations for a Customs League in Italy: nor did they ever proceed further; owing, first, to particular persons, afterwards to the times. To the Pope belongs the chief merit of the plan, and of such results as could be obtained by his own unaided resources.

On December 30th was published a new *Motu Proprio* respecting the Council of Ministers. Of this it is worth while to give a particular account, since it was one of the most important acts of this reign, as being that by which the Executive power acquired an organization worthy of a civilized state, and altogether novel in that of Rome. The preamble recited, that it was desirable to distinguish and define clearly the duties of each of the ministers; "In order that each of them, having his own proper and independent sphere, might accordingly take upon himself a responsibility which, in like manner, would descend upon those employed under him, and so would afford universally to the Government those guarantees which the persons entrusted with the administration of public affairs ought in every case to give." All the public functions of the State were then distributed among the following departments:—

1. Foreign.
2. Home.
3. Public Instruction.
4. Mercy and Justice.
5. Finance.
6. Commerce, Fine Arts, Trade, and Agriculture.
7. Public Works.

8. Military.
9. Police.

This list of departments might be reduced if it should be found convenient, but was not to be augmented; the Council of Ministers was to have a Prelate for its Secretary; the Secretary of State, being also Minister for Foreign Affairs, and President of the Cabinet, was always to be a Cardinal of Holy Church, and was to have a Prelate for his Under-Secretary: the other Ministers *need not* be Cardinals; so it was enacted; and thus the door appeared rather shut against the laity than opened to them. In the mode of introducing and conducting business, the Ministers were to conform to the *Motu Proprio* respecting the Council of State; that is to say, they were neither to decide nor debate upon those subjects on which the Consulta had a right to vote. Every Minister, as has been already stated in the preamble, was to be responsible; the incidents belonging to each department, the regulations for the body itself, for the Presidency, and for its deliberations, were to conform to those of the best organized states. A body of *Uditori* was attached to this Council of Ministers, in number twenty-four; in profession, twelve ecclesiastics and twelve laymen; both the one and the other named by the Sovereign.

The Ministers appointed were — 1. For Foreign Affairs, Cardinal Ferretti. 2. For the Interior, Monsignor Camillo Amici, Vice-President of the Consulta, a prelate who was then reputed able, and friendly to civil progress. 3. Of Public Instruction, Cardinal

Mezzofanti, President of the Sacred Congregation for Instruction. 4. Of Mercy and Justice, Monsignor Roberti, much esteemed on account of his legal learning and his integrity. 5. Of Finance, Monsignor Morichini, in whose honour I have already spoken. 6. Of Commerce, Cardinal Riario Sforza. 7. Of Public Works, Cardinal Massimo. 8. Of War, Monsignor Rusconi. 9. Of Police, Monsignor Savelli. Of all of them I have already spoken in these pages.

On December 31., the Cardinal Secretary of State published, in the name of the Pope, a Circular order respecting the press, to declare the meaning and give the details of the law of March 15. upon the Censorship. The Council of Censorship for Rome was augmented by four new members; Father Buttaoni, a Dominican Friar, and Master of the Sacred Palaces, was appointed President; the days of meeting were fixed; and the phrase of *contemporary history*, quoted from the law of March 15. was declared to mean any narration of political events. This was permitted, as was discussion upon them, provided only it did not touch upon questions, the notice or discussion of which might be *injurious to State policy, either external or international.* The reprinting of articles or writings, which had been licensed in other countries by the State authorities, might be prohibited; every journal was obliged to retain the title, character, and aim, for which it originally sought and obtained its licence. The discussion of political subjects was forbidden to such of them as had been intended, and had received sanction, for other purposes. Not a word of the

manuscript, as allowed by the Censorship, might be altered in the press; and not only no word, but no alteration might be made, either in titles or by punctuation, so as to break the sense, or by way of denoting admiration; nor, lastly, by omissions. Such was to be the peddling labour of the Censorship—such its rule. Trash! Far other than this is the labour of the press. To hamper it with a discipline of inspection beforehand was the sure way to increase its disorders.

And the disorders, both of the press and of the populace, were indeed on the increase.

Thus ended the year 1847.

CHAP. IX.

CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1848. — JOURNALISM. — THE PROVINCES. — POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS. — PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS. — THE CIVIC GUARD. — THE MODERATES. — THE MAZZINIANS. — STIR ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE YEAR. — THE SECOND DAY OF JANUARY. — NEWS FROM LOMBARDY. — SOLEMNITIES FOR THOSE WHO HAD DIED BY THE SWORD OF AUSTRIA. — PADRE GAVAZZI. — AUSTRIAN LEAGUE WITH PARMA AND MODENA. — PLANS OF RADETZKI. — HESITATION. — THE COUNCIL OF STATE. — QUESTION ABOUT THE PUBLICITY OF ITS VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS. — REPRESENTATION MADE IN THE NAME OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE. — REPORT OF THE COUNCIL ON MILITARY DEFENCE. — PRINCIPE GABRIELLI MINISTER OF WAR.

EIGHTEEN months had now elapsed, reckoning from the day on which Pius IX. had commenced his alterations by the amnesty for political offences: and very great indeed was the amount of alteration that had been wrought, but it was not so much by the instrumentality of new systems or measures, as of popular excitement. The finances, the judicial system, instruction, the armed force, were little less mismanaged than in former times: the men, who had a hand in them, were still the same who had administered them before, so that both new methods and also new men, the only true and solid basis of any new constitution, were wanting. The press was governed by an arbitrary though indulgent censorship: public opinion was kept in play by hopes and promises, the multitude by soft speeches: there was neither authority of laws, nor authority of men; no authority but only

upon trust, and for the moment: the old elements of disorder, aggravated by new ones. Our infant journalism had its infant passions and caprices: instead of meditating, it gambolled, and every day it smashed its toys of the day before, as children do: it instituted a school of declamation, not of political knowledge: it ran and plunged about, blindfolded: it made boast of an independent spirit and was the mean slave to out-of-doors influence. The earnest persons that in the first instance had spent on it their care and labour, had withdrawn, or were in the course of withdrawing, from it; and thus it remained in the hands of men, who wrote before they had learned to read, men senseless and insolent, who avenged their own meanness and ignorance on the fame of the learned and the wise. And if the recognised journalism was not sufficient, there was ever at hand the clandestine press that acted as its ally, making mock alike at the laws and at the censors.

In the Provinces there was less of stir than at Rome; whether because there is less material for excitement in cities of small population, or because the attempts of the agitators to create a stir were principally applied to the capital. Bologna, as befitted the most refined, the most civilized, the best educated city of the States, gave a good example to Rome: but already the Roman agitators charged her with being lukewarm in her love of liberty. In the Romagna, political assassinations were committed with a frequency and an effrontery quite horrible. In certain places, a ferocious faction, which arrogated to itself

the name and boast of being liberal, was guilty of such excesses, perpetrated such enormities, that it surpassed in infamy the infamies of the Centurions in the very worst Gregorian times; and from the Romagna, where it was inveterate, this livid plague of political assassination had begun to spread into the Marches. The Cardinals and Prelates, who governed the Provinces, had but little authority, because the Supreme Government itself had no more, because the morrow was constantly uncertain, because Rome had not imparted, and could not impart, any steadiness of movement; she scarcely knew what she liked and what she disliked, and often set the example of instability and weakness. Again, they had little of personal weight, because they were ecclesiastics, because they were men, marked for the illiberality of their former opinions, or because they were not conspicuous for ability or learning. We may except the excellent Cardinal Amat, — most distinguished for virtues of the heart and mind, and long well known to the world, who was greatly beloved and revered at Bologna: Cardinal Ciacchi, for whom the affairs of the Austrian aggression had won love, reverence, and popularity: Bofondi, now made a Cardinal, to whom Ravenna bore the affection and esteem that he merited for virtue, if not for political talent: and Cardinal Marini, who gave contentment to Forlì because he was a sagacious person, aware of the exigencies of the times. But all the other Governors of Provinces were either despised, or else hated, or else they curried favour by allowing themselves to be led by

those who led the street mobs. Some were Prelates who had come to rank and power in the time of Gregory, and were in bad odour accordingly. Some were youths, raw in government, boon companions, that used to join the youngsters in roystering; while many more were men that sought by all means and under all circumstances to keep their place and power, and who accordingly followed the course of the fashion, no matter to them whether liberal, or licentious.

The appointment of the Civic Guard had given occasion to many quarrels, many disgusts, in the municipalities; and to much expence, because the ostentatious agitators of Rome had desired it should have an ostentatious dress, including even the old Roman helmet. Its organization was not regulated thoroughly according to law, but so as to fall in with the notions of the liberals. Already they were in process of constituting those *corps* which are called exceptional or separate, which, in Guards composed of burghers, always contract a peculiar temper averse to the common discipline. The parades, the processions, the putting unnecessary sentinels on duty, and other like useless proceedings, drew men off from their studies, from their shops, from their families, and favoured the indolent tendencies, so common with inhabitants of the South, to a life of carelessness.

Yet still the men of temperate opinions continued to be excluded from that department of Government which is called Executive, and which is the one really powerful. Some of them were abandoning their

native towns, where they had credit and reputation, for this new function in the *Consulta di Stato:* these men, standing aloof from the sects and their devices, could now do little to promote moderation in the midst of the prevailing unruliness both of Government and people. On the other hand, the violent party acquired every day an increased influence over the masses, whether it were because the Government had more than once given signs of yielding more easily to public commotion than to prudent and confidential advice; or whether because intoxicating drink is more agreeable than simple water to persons already in liquor; or finally because the sects were beginning to go to work in earnest. Mazzini, the party of the *Giovine Italia*, and the refugees, had seen with dissatisfaction that fruit was now springing from the plans and advice of those, who expected to attain to liberty by reforms, to strength through concord, to independence by means of a League among Italian Princes: and since the Pope had granted the amnesty, and applied to the work of reform, they had become exasperated, inasmuch as the main elements that give animation to such societies were beginning to fail them,—that is to say the thirst of vengeance, the frenzied craving for return to a native land, restlessness, and desperation. When liberty came to be conceded and to spread in the Roman, Tuscan, and Sardinian States, the party of Mazzini saw, that it would then be vain and hazardous to propagate their creed: but they saw likewise, how pertinacious and extended agitation might afford occasion to prepare a way for future

triumphs. At the close of 1847, Mazzini was in London, extremely busy, and was sending emissaries to reconnoitre and harangue in Italy, with instructions not to thwart, but to second the new tendency of men's minds and dispositions, and to attract towards himself the confidence of the reformers. In a secret letter of Delessert, the Prefect of the French Police, to the Minister of the Interior, dated in January 1848, there is this information:—

"I am told that Mazzini is come to Paris, in order to take council with such of his friends as are here about the means of raising money to dispatch emissaries into Tuscany and Piedmont, and to Rome and Naples, who will have instructions to second the existing movement, and to ingratiate themselves with the patriots. They have been recommended to study the character of Ciceruacchio, the popular leader in Rome; and to exert themselves to draw him into their faction, by inducing him to believe that every thing will be done with a view to the greater glory of Pius IX. In a word, the plan of Mazzini is as follows: to avail himself of the present excitement, turning it to account on behalf of Young Italy, which repudiates monarchy under whatsoever form; and to effect this by raising the cry of *viva* for the Duke of Tuscany, for Charles Albert, and for Pius IX. As an antecedent to his return to London from Paris, Mazzini has traversed the departments, to give this matter in charge to such of his fellow-countrymen, as have been stated to him to be best adapted for it."

The Prefect of the Parisian Police gave further information on this point. And it is a fact, that, about the close of 1847, there did come into Italy some of those refugees whom he mentioned, and who dispersed themselves among the excited masses; and there

gathered in Rome many of the party of Mazzini, some of them refugees and others not, who laid siege to Ciceruacchio with every kind of flattery, and drew him over to themselves, though he had previously been under the influence of persons holding moderate opinions.

The *Motu Proprio* for the Council of Ministers, of which I have spoken in the last chapter, had given satisfaction. We were at the commencement of the year, and the occasion was tempting for one of the accustomed processions to the Quirinal. Early in the evening, the crowd assembled in the *Piazza del Popolo*, with its leaders, its colours, its band, its torches; and already it was getting into motion, when intelligence suddenly arrived that the palace of the Pontiff was surrounded by a force ready to repel the people. The police had obtained an inkling of the preparations for the gathering; it had either conceived, or at any rate propagated, suspicions of some seditious project: the Court was panic-struck, and Cardinal Ferretti, with his usual heat, had sent for the troops, had given them their posts, and had with his own mouth encouraged them to resistance. The assembly grew wild with alarm, and they began to utter curses — curses on the Minister of Police and the Secretary of State — curses on the Jesuits, the most hated of all hobgoblins—curses, too, accompanied with threats. The aged Prince Corsini, the Senator of Rome, flies to the spot, and upon being entreated, betakes himself to the Quirinal, as the messenger of the discontented populace; within an

hour he goes and returns, bringing an account that the Pope is at ease, that he confides in his people, and that the next day he would give a proof of his confidence; that the soldiery had already been dismissed, and that the way to the Quirinal was free. Thereupon the multitude shouts for the Pope and the Senator, and a rumour goes abroad that the order for resistance had been given by the ministers, without the knowledge and against the will of the Pontiff. And so ends this feverish fit of the Court and of the street by the triumph of the latter over the former. The cry is raised out of doors, "Long live Pius IX. ALONE," which sufficiently explains its own meaning. Yet the truth is this: that Pius IX. had himself given the order for that preparation for resistance and defence, and that Cardinal Ferretti and Monsignor Savelli bore the unpopularity and odium of it, while he enjoyed the credit of the fair words that Corsini reported, and what I am now going to relate besides.

On the following day, the second of January, it became known, that two hours before sunset Pius IX. would set out from his palace, and that, in proof of his cheerful and confiding spirit, he would pass by one or more quarters of the Civic Guard, and through the main streets of the city. Hereupon the *Corso* was instantaneously dressed out for festivities, hundreds of banners began to wave, and the populace assembled, when the carriage of the Pontiff, proceeding from the *Via di Ripetta*, entered into the place called *del Popolo*, and from this into the *Corso*, the

Civic Guard formed a circle, and the people became thronged, so that a passage could with difficulty be found. Frantic cries accompany the coach down that long street, the coach moves slowly, the Pope gives his blessing, the banners float in air; Ciceruacchio, mounting on the hinder part of the carriage, lifts one with the inscription, "Holy Father, rely upon the people;" and Pius IX., with emotion, signifies that he will. Nor are the cries only those of joy; there are cries of abuse against the retrogradists, of ill will towards the ministry, of imprecation upon the police. Those drunkards then thought that they were carrying Pius IX. in triumph, while they were really wounding his Majesty, both as Prince and as Pontiff; it was Ciceruacchio's triumphal procession, rather say, his despicable orgies. When Pius IX. had reached the quarters of the second civic battalion, which are situated at the extremity of the *Via delle Cannelle*, he requested silence and stillness, and obtained it. When he had reached the Quirinal, he begged the multitude to disperse, and they did it: a tardy and a trivial token of reverence and regard. The very next day, the Assessor General of Police, Dandini, on whom was made to rest the chief responsibility of the preparations for resistance on New Year's Day, was dismissed, and Francesco Perfetti of Pesaro took his place; a person highly esteemed, advanced in years, of unquestioned honour, and of liberal tendencies.

The intelligence that arrived from Lombardy and from Venice, added fuel to the flame. One day

brought the news of the daring petitions for reform, which some respectable citizens presented through the medium of the provincial congregations, and the names of Nazari, Manin, and Tommaseo were repeated with honour. The next day it became known that first the Milanese, and then in succession the rest of Lombardy and the Venetians, had formed and carried into effect a combination against smoking tobacco, to damage the Imperial finances, and to affront the insolent soldiery. Then fame told, and exaggerated, the indomitable courage of the oppressed, and the ferocity of the oppressors, and the passionate outrages of the drunken troops in Milan and at Pavia were detailed; the woes of Lombardy were deplored, which Massimo d'Azeglio had described in language more generous than prudent. And the youth of Rome ostentatiously offered prayers on the eleventh and twelfth of January for the souls of those who had fallen by the Austrian sword, — a work in which smouldering revenge was combined with piety. There were present the civic force, the Members of the Consulta, the Sardinian Minister, and all the Lombards then in Rome. It was at one of these funeral celebrations (for they were not confined to one, inasmuch as Austria supplied material in abundance for such solemnities; and when there was no pretext for assemblages in the streets, they were glad to have them in churches,) that Padre Gavazzi, a Barnabite friar, suddenly mounted into the pulpit, and delivered a warlike harangue in the temple of the God of Peace. For this he was afterwards reproved and punished,

and the agitators conceived displeasure at the punishment, because unruliness pleased them even in the friars, and they termed it liberalism.

The times were waxing big. On the one hand, the fever of agitation grew in violence; on the other, Austria not only tightened the iron bit upon the Lombardo-Venetians, and bathed her hand in their blood, but menaced the other Italian Provinces. The Bourbons, having decamped from Lucca, had mounted the throne of Parma, when it was left vacant by the death of Maria Louisa; and they governed it as in trust for Austria, and that, too, in the fashion that their dastard nature dictated. Austria likewise concluded with the Duke of Parma, and with the Duke of Modena, a treaty that they were bold enough to call one of alliance offensive and defensive: but its real meaning was, enfeoffment into the empire; it provided for the entry of the imperial forces, and for a government by military licence, similar to that which then afflicted the Lombardo-Venetian provinces. Moreover, the independence of Tuscany appeared to be in danger, because rumour began to be busy, and forces were put in motion, on account of its territorial disputes with Modena about Fivizzano, and with Parma about Pontremoli; while Austria gave her protection to her royal lacqueys. Again, it became known that Marshal Radetzki was revolving bold projects in his mind; that he advised the Court of Vienna to temporise no longer, and proposed to attack Central Italy; to give the law to Florence and to Rome, perhaps even to encamp on the Sesia, and to occupy Alessandria. On

these accounts, at a time when our towns seemed to be reeking with such vapours of the fancy, and the reckless sects, and the wanton youth were hard at work in stirring up unruly spirits, and in inflaming the popular mind — with dreams of I know not what attacks upon the German army by a tumultuary force armed with scythes, and of battering down fortresses with Mazzini's idea — the few, whose heads were not turned with these fumes, remained full of misgivings, and prognosticated evil, aware as they were of the feebleness of the armed force, and of the insecurity of the State. Nor did it appear that any way could be found of augmenting the one, or giving steadiness to the other, because the times and our destinies were driving and dragging us forward, while the Court halted, nay, drew back.

Great reliance had been placed upon the *Consulta di Stato*. Public opinion was in its favour, because, although its members were named by the Sovereign, still, for the most part, the choice had fallen on those whom the general sentiment had pointed out. Most of them, indeed, had no solid acquaintance with political science, and they readily allowed themselves to be influenced and guided by the members for Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, who had more of political knowledge and training than the rest. The President, Cardinal Antonelli, very soon perceived that by their means the Consulta might acquire the weight of a representative body, and to their parliamentary tactics he set himself to oppose courtierly tactics, such as are peculiar to Rome. An article of the

organic Regulations gave to the members the power to initiate any measure whatever; and this, during such times, and by means of the publicity which was in fashion, and often carried even to excess, with the assistance too of public opinion and the press, was capable of becoming a powerful engine either to impel or to obstruct the Government. They were themselves aware of it; and, as they had it much at heart to acquire weight and power for that body, with this view they proposed that its votes and proceedings should be public. The Government was aware what they were about, and therefore was reluctant to agree to the proposal. Much was said upon the subject, and in various senses, according to the varieties of predisposition then current. The very liberal party deemed it indispensable; and, besides, the English and French Ministers were anxious for it: but it struck the Court with alarm. It must be confessed that every one who now dispassionately considers that question, will think it strange that publicity should be courted for proceedings which were simply by way of advice; nor can it be held that such publicity is suited to an institution of that kind: but it must not be forgotten that the times had really gone ahead of that institution; that it was hailed as bearing a resemblance to a representative chamber; and that they were seeking, by means of publicity, to give to its votes the authority which mere advice could not have, so that the Government might pay it the respect due to the resolutions of a deliberative body. By and bye I will give some

account of the acts of the *Consulta*, and of its members. In this place it was fitting to mention it, in order to show how little from its outset it was capable of giving stability to the State, because it was unequal to the demands of the public mind; while, on the other hand, the Government had begun to regard it with apprehension, not approving in all respects of its internal regulations; at first hesitating to accept from it, and at last accepting with a bad grace, an address at the commencement of its session. And I have been led to touch upon the Consulta while I was treating of the admitted insufficiency of the forces, and of the anxiety of the public that the military organisation should be enlarged and improved. So great was this anxiety, that loud complaints were made of the negligence of the Government, and that the Romans began to think of making a representation to the Consulta on the subject. Indeed, for my own part I conceive that I can in no way give a clearer view of that desire, of the forms in which it displayed itself, and of the prevailing uneasiness, than by introducing the representation, that was actually framed and presented on the 10th of January. It was couched, as was then the custom, in the name of the Roman people, and printed at the time of presentation. It ran thus:

"Gentlemen,

"A covert but constantly growing uneasiness has prevailed for some days in this city; and the apprehension of losing at a stroke not only all the advantages gained by the reforms which our excellent Sovereign has conceded, but together with these all freedom of action, all the progressive

developement of national prosperity, engrosses the public mind in such a manner as to give ground for fears of a popular demonstration alike vehement and universal, perhaps also uncontroulable. In order to avert a movement which might assume a character of violence, and to keep to the forms appointed by law for conveying to the Sovereign the wishes of the people, we, who ourselves form a portion of it, who know all its thoughts, and who are so much interested in preserving the peace, and in defending the security and the dignity of our country, present ourselves before you, Illustrious Councillors, to make known to you the genuine sentiments of Rome, and to conjure you to carry our desires to the foot of the throne, and to interpose for the sake of peace and the public safety.

"When the independence of a State is menaced by a powerful enemy, it is the supreme obligation, and the sacred right, of its people, to prepare the means of its own security. The aggressive designs of Austria upon Italy are no longer a secret to any one. Arrogating to herself the right of a military occupation of those States which she may be invited to enter, without asking the consent of the rest of the Italian Governments, and without having any strong ground to allege even as a pretext for such occupation, Austria desires to become the mistress of our destinies. Modena is already invaded. The people of Parma, menaced by her forces, which are ready for entry at the slightest sign from its Duke, are struck dumb. The Government of Naples makes answer with gaols and inflictions to the prayers and acclamations of its people, because aware that the German bayonets are on its side. Ferrara, after so many promises, is not yet set free from the Croats. The Court of Vienna is constantly putting in motion new regiments for Italy, is placing its army on the war establishment and adding one third to its pay, is preparing siege-artillery, and arranging all the military preparations necessary to take the field.

"In the midst of so many signs portending an invasion — while the public prints of Germany are openly speaking of

war — while the partisans of the old system of oppression are lifting up their heads and plotting against the people — those of the Italian Governments, who with wonderful unanimity have combined in embarking upon a reforming policy, ought now to forego every other care, and to think of nothing but the defence of our common country, and of Italian independence. It is folly to rely longer on the faith of treaties; it is ignorance of history to rest upon the force of abstract reason; it is idle to trust to the efficacy of protests. Italy, aroused by the clang of foreign weapons, perceives her danger, and already from every side there rises a shout that calls upon her Sovereigns to protect by arms her menaced independence. Already is Tuscany reorganising her troops, arming with all dispatch her Civic Guard, and preparing for defence. Piedmont is refusing all furlough to her soldiers, calling in the contingents, and supplying her fortresses with guns. And yet we, the first mark for the wrath of the enemies of our native land, because we were first to give the signal for her resurrection, ought not now to be the last in making preparation to defend our Prince, our laws, and our country. But our army, although composed of men so brave and effective when considered individually, proves, nevertheless, as a body, to be feeble and insecure, because it is without any regulating mind, or any principle of unison in its movements. In order to make it the tool of the tyrannical ambition of a few, it was long sought to turn it into a force having no other office than that of persecution and oppression; and yet, in point of generosity of sentiment, bravery, and intelligence, it was worthy to acquire the very best military organisation, and to be entrusted by the State in all confidence with the defence of the life and property of its subjects. Let it then, without delay, gain new life from a new and judicious management; let it come back to severity of discipline, and to purity of administration; let it recover together with its dignity the sense of its duty. Let its *materiel*, now impoverished and neglected, be put in repair, its dispersed corps be reunited, its training

extended and expedited; but above all let there be given to it active officers, brought up to the profession, of tried courage, and known to be trustworthy in respect of opinions, steadily friendly to the progress of Italian civilisation. Such are the requests of the Roman people this day, while to its requests are united those of the Provinces, and with them the desire of the entire class of the officers. You know it well. There were above two hundred signatures of officers to an address, praying respectfully for the reorganisation of the Pontifical militia; and this address, which expressed the sentiments of the whole body, was presented to the proper authority by the worthy Colonel Stewart, who beheld it first received, and then rejected, possibly because not one ray of light can be suffered to penetrate into that dark abyss, which is called the administration of the army.

"And in order that its just petitions may reach to the throne of its Sovereign, the Roman people entrusts them to you, O trusty and faithful Councillors of the Government; to you who, having come from the provinces, having always lived amidst the people, are acquainted with all their grievances and all their wishes, and have been summoned hither in order to give them just satisfaction by an efficacious cure. In our name you will report, that we repose in the hands of our Sovereign that which we hold dearest in the world, the independence of our country. You will tell him that this people is prepared for every sacrifice, and that the whole of our youth burns to repair whithersoever the needs of their country may summon them to her defence. The generous offers of the municipalities, and the voluntary contributions, sufficiently indicate the spirit which animates the masses. Why was it ever sought to repress this noble sentiment of patriotism? Why were the cannon, offered from Milan and from Genoa, and even the donations for the purchase of cannon, refused?

"The confidence of the people ought not to be longer abused. The Papal army must gain the lustre and the strength which it deserves, and which circumstances demand.

The Civic Guard must be called out, and that with promptitude, in every part of the country; and if the advice of those should still prevail, who call our apprehensions visionary and would lull us to sleep, you, Illustrious Councillors, will, we are sure, respectfully state, that the people is determined to avail itself of the right that calls in aid every kind of instrument, when the question is the defence of our Sovereign, our laws, our property, our liberties; of every thing, in fine, that makes up the idea of country.

"But if amidst the efforts necessary for arming the masses, and the all-pervading excitation which a people needs in order to accept every sacrifice, prudence should be unequal to fixing the bounds of enthusiasm, and the voice of the moderate party should become inaudible, let the fault and the punishment lie with those who deceive governments and betray nations, hiding from the first the actual truth, and driving the last to embark upon desperate counsels in the paths of illegality, when they see their just demands despised."

This intemperate language represented truly the prevailing excitement. Nor did the *Consulta* think fit to leave in doubt its anxiety on this subject of the Militia: and it made public a report from Prince Odescalchi and Count Campello, which was of the following tenor:—

"In prosecution of a design of the Council of Ministers, approved by the Holy Father, the fourth section of the Council of State has had it in charge since last December to review the organic articles of the army, published in 1844, which the experience of a few years had shown to be insufficient and faulty. The section did not conceal from itself the difficulties of this task, nor how much they were enhanced by the fact, that they themselves were only now called for the first time to take part in public affairs, and that they

were also for the most part without military experience. Still, under the guidance of reason, and with a lively desire for their country's good, they set vigorously to work; and their first intention was to avail themselves of the previous labours of the most enlightened nations in this department, adopting the military codes of Prussia, and still more of Piedmont, as their model in this business. But, in spite of all the application and zeal they are spending upon it, we must not conceal from you, that a considerable time will still have to elapse before it is completed: so that we cannot hope to effectuate by these means as quickly as the necessity of the case demands, a sound reorganisation of the army. In the mean time, a reflection of deep and most serious concern occurs to our minds. Does not the very time now directly coming on appear to carry the germs of events the most important? Can we venture on its risks, unless we can point to a military force which is compact, imposing, wisely organised and governed; and in readiness to maintain, along with order, the independence and the dignity of the country and the throne? We do not seek to overstate the present position of affairs; we do not act under any extraneous impulse: but we frankly and conscientiously ask you to cast your eyes around, and then look into your own hearts and decide.

"However in these times the power of reason and of right may be acknowledged, it must not be forgotten, that the empire of material force is not entirely overthrown. Well, then, will it be fitting that we should remain sluggish and inactive amidst circumstances so grave; should fall asleep in our present lassitude, rather than call in aid the whole amount of personal vigour and energy at our command? Nor, assuredly, when we see our youth, of such high spirit, to which nature has denied neither strength of body nor alacrity of mind, nor any other gift, can we apprehend that the materials of such a force are wanting: nor ought the idea to be entertained that this alone of all countries is not furnished with the necessary means of maintaining its honour, and the in-

tegrity of its territory. To which we add, that an exhibition of our own strength is the surest means of obtaining respect; and thus of maintaining that equal balance of power, and that peace, which are every man's first desire.

"All these considerations have occurred to us, and have convinced us, that inasmuch as we could not at once effect in the military force all the required reforms, both administrative and political, it was our duty at any rate to supply their place by some other plan which, equally efficacious for the purposes of improvement, might elevate its tone, and render it forthwith the most solid and stable bulwark of the country. And such a plan we have not found it difficult to discover. *Viros saltem probos, et legem veterem.* Let us at least be busy in improving men, until laws can be improved too. Our forces want a head, want able officers, trustworthy and experienced, above all, in operations of war: only such men as these can make up off-hand for defectiveness of system. We do not mean hereby to do wrong to our country or our countrymen. Heretofore, however, our pursuits have not been those of war, but those of relaxation and of peace. Men are not born masters in any art; and it would be idle to expect that from the bosom of industry, of commerce, of agriculture, there should issue highly accomplished commanders. We hold it for certain, that a General, capable of giving useful advice to the Minister of War, able to frame a plan of defence for the country, to direct and organise the forces; and at the same time, by his weight and credit, to gain the respect not only of his own soldiers, but of those of the other Italian Powers — that such a man will effect far more, than any written code, in the judicious and stable reconstruction of the Papal army. This we think may be the best expedient, both to avert any storm that may be gathering over these countries, and likewise to afford us aid in that work of permanent reform that we are going to undertake. It is a matter of indifference whether such a man (or, if more than one be wanted, such men) shall be sought in our state rather than in any other. And, among the States of Italy, Piedmont is

that in which the martial spirit has always continued lively and vigorous, and in which the most advantageous military principle shave been developed; thither likewise turn our most affectionate sympathies. There accordingly let us search, or, if not there, then elsewhere; but if you wish to reanimate with genuine life this weakly and disordered body, then let a head, and let a mind, too, be given it.

"The fourth section then, Sirs, proposes to you the following project:—'The Council of State, availing itself of the power conferred on it by the 26th Article of the *motu proprio*, expresses the wish, that the Government should without delay invite some officers of rank, distinguished for their exploits and character, to command and to organise the Papal army. They will at the same time serve to help the fourth section of the Council in the formation of the plan of military organisation that has been entrusted to it, which it is of the utmost urgency to complete.'"

The Council approved of this Report; and the Government applied to the King of Piedmont for some officer experienced in the matter of military regulations.

About this time Cardinal Massimo died suddenly. The Pope named Monsignor Rusconi to be Minister of Public Works; and to the military department, in his stead, Prince Gabrielli, a Roman, and formerly a soldier, who had a character for strictness and integrity. He was the first layman that sat in the Pope's Cabinet; and on this account his appointment was popular enough, though he was not reputed to hold liberal opinions.

CHAP. X.

NAPLES AND SICILY. — NEWS OF THE REVOLUTION AT PALERMO. — ITS EFFECTS.—PREPARATIONS FOR A REVOLUTION IN THE CONTINENTAL PROVINCES.—THE NEAPOLITAN CONSTITUTION.—EFFECTS OF THIS INTELLIGENCE AT ROME. — RESIGNATION OF CARDINAL FERRETTI. — CARDINAL BOFONDI SECRETARY OF STATE. — COMMOTION OF THE 8TH OF FEBRUARY.—THE POPE'S PROCLAMATION OF THE 10TH.—JOY OF THE ROMANS.—POPULAR DEMONSTRATION. — THE POPE'S EXPRESSIONS.—CHANGE OF MINISTRY ON THE 12TH — COMMISSION OF ECCLESIASTICS TO DRAFT A CONSTITUTION. — CONSTITUTIONS GIVEN IN TUSCANY AND IN PIEDMONT.—PROCRASTINATION AT ROME. — PUBLIC EXPECTATION. — ADVICE TENDERED. — VARIOUS PLANS. — ADDRESSES.

While events were proceeding in Rome as I have described, a powerful impulse to further advances came from the quarter, where those in power used to set an example of obstinate resistance, and to boast of their own immovable firmness.

The Government of Naples was used to regard scornfully those of Rome, Tuscany, and Piedmont; made no account of the warnings of the press, or those of French and English diplomacy; and haughtily defied the angry murmurs, both of Sicily, always ill-affected to Naples, and of Naples, wearied out with subjugation to the will of an absolute monarch. From November onwards, there were incessant demonstrations of discontent, of ill-suppressed passion, and of a desire to overtake the other provinces of Italy in the path that appeared to point towards the resurrection of their common country; on the other hand,

Del Carretto and his colleagues never ceased their abusive employment of force, which Christian civilisation would have not for the absolute mistress and queen of a Christian people, but for a bulwark and an ally to Christian authority. And at this time too, just as half a century before, the Neapolitans smitten for their love of freedom and their civil courage, in the midst of the sluggishness of a brutalised commonalty, were those nobles, whom the Court would not forgive for that love and that courage, nor the corrupted populace for their ancestral fortunes and luxurious display. They were also the men distinguished in letters and in science, to which the envy and ignorance of a populace and of a Court are alike hostile. They were in a word those classes, against which now as ever, and now more than ever, there is an outcry from the mad ambition and greediness of men, who, in order to be upon an equality with them, would wish to level every eminence of fortune, of virtue, of genius, and of knowledge; nor would they willingly stop, until in their impious fancies they dethrone even the Lord God. And as it was at Naples, so was it in the fifteen continental Provinces, and so over in Sicily, in that island reduced to subjection, and detained in it, by sheer force overriding treaties, rights, and oaths.

In December, the nobility and burghers of Sicily did not let a day pass, without making some endeavours to better the lot of their native land, by such modes of complaint and petition as alone were open to them. They shouted for Pius IX. and the reform-

ing Princes; offered dutiful petitions; published their grievances; and, finally, they threatened stoutly. This fact, perhaps, is one new in the history of popular movements, that the Sicilians, when they saw that their complaints were useless, and that the Government was inexorable, fixed the day, beyond which their endurance was not to last. It was the 12th of January, and they proclaimed it to the King, to Italy, and to the world; a singular and wholly novel challenge to a strange combat, of unarmed men, strong only in the consciousness of right, with armed insolence. And when that day arrived, which was appointed as the last of truce, and the King had consented to no change, a revolution was effected in Palermo. The unarmed laid hold on such weapons as rage suggested, and the armed were trodden down, broken, and put to flight, as if God were fighting on the side of their foes. When they returned to the charge they were but routed afresh. And now behold that Executive, which thought and vaunted itself inflexible, yielding, and giving up to force what it would not give in deference to prudent counsel: behold Naples, on the 16th of January, dispatching edicts of concession in bundles, respecting the press, the council of state, and the local government of Sicily. Too late, and too little. Too late, because granting what has already been taken is an insult. Too little, because feeding by drops those who call for draughts is folly. This, then, was the first matured result of the blind obstructiveness at Naples, that from the example of Sicily each people became aware

of its own strength, and that the design of political alterations in the shape of reform shifted over into that highroad of revolution, which instead of fences is edged with precipices for Kings, for commonalties, for nations; and this was the good then worked in Italy, by those masters in the art of governing well, the strenuous conservatists, the only true defenders of thrones—as they used to boast and now boast anew—that they were the cause of the earliest shock given to the authority of kingship.

The intelligence from Sicily arrived at Rome, vague at first, then certain; to the multitude joyous, grave enough to such as dreaded convulsion, encouraging to those who desired and were secretly laying the train for revolutions by the populace, and not reforms from the Sovereign. And now these men no longer refrained from acting upon others; and to those who would have restrained them they showed the colours of Palermo dyed with blood, and praised her to the very skies, as the instructress of nations and the scourge of offending kings. And now the desires for a greater revolution grew keen. Already emissaries, and competent speakers, too, were in motion getting money and arms, with which, after the fashion of the *giovine Italia*, to enter the neighbouring kingdom of Naples, and create disturbance. They did gather money, and they likewise enlisted men used to such schemes; they begged arms from the civic guards on the confines, or within a short distance of that country; and they set themselves to drawing the Pope's subjects, with his arms, into the enterprise.

If any one objected to these proceedings on grounds of civil prudence, of respect to the obligations which are termed international, or consideration for our own Government, or for that Pius IX., in whose name Italy had begun her resurrection, their answer was a scoff at the simplicity of people who defended the laws of honour and duty, and wished to keep by plighted faith. I am relating things known to multitudes, and what I myself witnessed and heard with a mind uneasy about the future.

The Revolution, then, having begun at Palermo, threatened to raise its head elsewhere. Will then the Court of Naples, which provoked it, have spirit and power to repress it in the very capital, where there is such a strength of soldiery, with such abundance of fortresses for defence, and where there had been such obstinacy in resisting change, and so much vaunted firmness? What avail arms, fortresses, and bragging, when fear is hurrying and destiny dragging us onwards? O miserable pride of man! One day, one hour may suffice, and more than suffice, to break down all royal and all popular conceits: to-day an empire seems to bid defiance to the ravages of time, to-morrow it crumbles in the dust. So God wills, so He teaches: but who is there that learns? The Government of Naples hesitated, then gave way; and promised to grant those reforms, that a year, or six months, or perhaps even one month before, would have been acceptable concessions: but they were now too late and too little: the revolution had already triumphed close at hand in Sicily: the only way to

controul it in Naples was to concede, or appear to concede, to the Neapolitans greater liberties than the subjects of the other Italian sovereigns had previously obtained from them respectively: yet there was still delay, so that the popular demonstrations multiplied, and this not only in the capital, but also in the provinces. On the 27th of January, great numbers assembled in the *Via Toledo* and in the *Largo* of the Royal Palace; while the red banner was mounted on the castle of St. Elmo in token of war. Thereupon the multitude shouted *vivas* for the King and the Constitution, and raised the tricolor flag. The commanders of the soldiery did not decide to charge. Some of them, it is said Statella and Filangieri, advised the King to change his ministers, and give a Constitution. Then Del Carretto, up to that time the powerful and over-powerful minister, received his dismissal from Filangieri in the King's name: the Duke of Serra Capriola received the command to form a new ministry; the Constitution was resolved upon, and on the 29th of January its fundamental principles were announced, while the administration pledged themselves to publish it complete within twelve days. At last the King of Naples himself came into the balcony of the Palace, thanked the crowd that were cheering him, and showed his wish to surpass the rest of the Italian sovereigns, as in the amplitude of the institutions conceded, so also in the abundance of his ingratiating acts. He showed himself as if at ease among the people, and was all to all.

He laid open the gates of his palace, conversed familiarly with men that only yesterday were in fetters, bid for votes and acclamations, and for the character of a liberal king. And in this manner, first by excess of resistance and of obstinacy, then by a new excess of weakness and of haste, he wholly shifted the Italian movement off the line of measured progress, and as it were jerked the several States to a point, which no one expected to see them reach within any short period. M. Guizot indeed, from the French Tribune, estimated that ten years at least would be required for them to reach it.

Thus the chapter of reforms was closed in Italy. Next began that of Constitutions, which were invented or copied: every one vied with his neighbour in trying to do most work and quickest.

When the news of the events at Naples came to Rome, the city was forthwith beside itself, with verses, hymns, illuminations, merry-making. The Municipality itself invited the townspeople to celebrate the occasion, and they did it in the usual way; with crowds going about the streets, flags, torches, bands of music, shouts that reached the skies, and the tricolor mixed with the Papal ensigns. From the *Piazza del Popolo* they march to the capitol: Cardinal Altieri harangues the people from the balcony of his palace; for the popular favour now began to allure even Cardinals; and a good bargain it was, if had simply by mounting a pulpit. Amidst the festive acclamations of the multitude there arose, too, angry cries against Austria,

and most of all against the Jesuits; nor were there any bounds to the prevailing intoxication. The mood of excitement, which was originally mild and joyous, had already by degrees been darkened; and on the 2nd of February, upon the ground, or under the plea, that the Cardinal Vicar had imprisoned one of the Civic Guard, a body of his comrades went in disorder to his palace, and from thence to the gaol, where they released the prisoner by force.

Cardinal Ferretti, who had many months before sent in his resignation, and had continued minister with great reluctance, now obtained from the Pontiff his discharge, and was appointed Legate extraordinary to Ravenna, in lieu of Cardinal Bofondi, who had been named Secretary of State and President of the Council of Ministers. That Cardinal arrived in Rome on the 7th of February; and on the 8th there were disorders as great as any that had preceded. A report had been spread, that the Council of State had projected new levies, which the Cabinet had disapproved. The cry of traitor was raised. The populace gathered, with threats and imprecations against the ministers. On this occasion also the Senator repaired to the spot, as did other respected citizens, and calmed their passions. The Senator went to the Quirinal, and came back with the assurance that the Pope would change his ministers. The multitude dispersed, but tranquillity did not ensue; they desired to have no more clerical ministers; shouted death to the Jesuits, and demanded

summarily military preparations adequate for repelling the Austrian invasion, which was greatly apprehended. Rome was agitated, discontented, sullen. On the 10th the following Proclamation appeared.

"Pius P. P. IX.

"Romans! The Pontiff, who has now during two years received from you so many signs of affection and confidence, is not indifferent to your fears. We are incessantly engaged in considering in what way, consistently with our duties towards the Church, can best be developed and carried to perfection those civil institutions which we have founded, not under any constraint from circumstances, but led on by our desire for the happiness of our people, and our esteem for their noble qualities. We had, besides this, applied our mind to the re-organisation of the army, even before the public voice had asked it; and we have sought out means to obtain from foreign parts officers that might give their aid to those who already, with so much distinction, serve the Pontifical Government. In order more effectually to enlarge the circle of persons qualified to assist by their talents and experience in the work of public improvement, We have also taken measures for augmenting the lay portion of the Council of Ministers. If harmony of intention among the Princes, to whom Italy owns herself to owe the recent reforms, be a guarantee for the preservation of those blessings hailed with so much both of applause and of gratitude, that likewise We cultivate, by maintaining and consolidating the most friendly relations with them. In short, no one thing that can promote the peace and dignity of the State will be neglected, O Romans and other subjects of the Popedom, by your Father and Sovereign, who has given you the most unquestionable proofs of his solicitude on your behalf, and is ready to give more, if only he shall be found worthy to obtain from God the infusion into your hearts, and into those of all Italians,

of the pacific spirit of the Divine Wisdom. But not less is he prepared to resist, with the force that the institutions already granted will furnish, every ill-regulated tendency, just as he would resist any demand not conformable to his own duty or to your well-being. Listen, then, to the fatherly voice that gives you these assurances, and be not disturbed by the cry that proceeds from the mouths of the ignorant, to agitate the populations of Italy with the dread of a foreign war, as promoted, and prepared for, by domestic plots, or by a sinister inertness of the Governments. This is a delusion, meant to drive you, through your fears, to seek for public safety in disorder, to confound by tumult the plans of those set over you, and by means of confusion to find pretences for a war against Us, for which no other justification can be found. What peril, in truth, can menace Italy, as long as a tie of gratitude and confidence, unimpaired by violence of any kind, unites together the strength of the people and the wisdom of the Princes, and, further, the sanctity of public law? We too, above all, We, the Head and Pontiff of the most Holy Catholic Religion, can it be that We should not find ready to defend Us, whensoever We might be unjustly assailed, countless children that would sustain this centre of Catholic unity like the mansion of a father? A great gift of Heaven is this, among so many gifts with which Italy has been highly favoured, — that our own subjects, in number scarce three millions, have two hundred million brothers of every nation and of every tongue. This has been at other periods, and amidst the wreck of the whole Roman world, Rome's salvation. From this cause, the ruin of Italy never has been entire. Here will ever lie her defence, so long as this Apostolic See shall continue in the midst of her. Bless then, Italy, Oh great God! and preserve to her for ever this gift, the choicest of all, her Faith! Bless her with the benediction which Thy Vicar, his forehead bowed to the earth, humbly prays of Thee! Bless her with the benediction that is besought of Thee for her by the Saints to whom she has given birth; by the Queen of Saints, who

protects her; by the Apostles, of whom she cherishes the glorious remains; and by Thine Incarnate Son, who sent His own Representative on earth to reside in this city of Rome.

"Given in Rome, at Santa Maria Maggiore, on the 10th of February, 1848, in the Second Year of our Pontificate.

"Pius P. P. IX."

At the place where it is said, that measures had been taken for augmenting the lay portion of the Council of Ministers, there was likewise this clause inserted in parenthesis: "if the retired habits and tranquil studies of ecclesiastics are not found fully to comport with the exigencies of the present time." This was in the original print, and was seen and perused in the proofs first sent from press, but afterwards it was struck out, nor did the public ever read it. Those who knew the fact murmured at the clerical jealousy, to which the alteration was ascribed. That Proclamation intoxicated Rome. Three hours before sunset an enormous crowd collected in the Piazza del Popolo, and set out for the palace of the Pope. Twelve companies of the Civic Guard came first, then the train of the popular leaders and of townsmen, mixing with the soldiery; then four bodies of ecclesiastics flanked by two tricolor flags, and having the Pope's colours between them, while they all wore tricolor tassels. There were also banners, with bands of music and of singers. When they got to the Quirinal, Pius IX. showed himself at the balcony, and made signs that he wished to speak. There was a profound silence, not broken even by the trickling

of the fountains, which had been stopped a short time before. And thus spoke the Pope:

"Before the benediction of God descends upon you, on the rest of my people, and, I say it again, on all Italy, I pray you to be of one mind, and to keep the faith you have sworn to me, the Pontiff."

At these words, the silence of deep feeling was broken by a sudden thunder of acclamation, "Yes, I swear;" and Pius IX. proceeded:

"I warn you, however, against the raising of certain cries, that are not of the people but of a few individuals, and against making any such requests to Me, as are incompatible with the sanctity of the Church; for these I cannot, I may not, and I will not grant. This being understood, with my whole soul I bless you."

And he gave the blessing.

What then were these ungracious cries, these demands incompatible with the sanctity of the Church? Some thought, and said they thought, the cries and requests for a constitution were meant; others, and these were right, the cries of expulsion and death to the Jesuits, and of disparagement to the clergy. That this only could be intended, was likewise made clear from the fact, that in addressing the Staff of the Civic Guard the Pope had already said, he had instituted a Commission which was to digest all the reforms, and propose all the extensions that were thought reasonable; also that he was going to invite more laymen to enter the ministry, but that he desired to be a free agent in conferring benefits.

Deeds followed close on words: on the 12th of February the ministry was changed. Count Giuseppe Pasolini, who sat for Ravenna in the Consulta, took the department of commerce, in lieu of Cardinal Riario Sforza; Francesco Sturbinetti, advocate and municipal magistrate of Rome, that of public works, instead of Monsignor Rusconi; Michele Gaetani, Prince of Teano, had the police, instead of Monsignor Savelli; and instead of Monsignor Amici, Monsignor Francesco Pentini, a clerk of the chamber, and then vice-president of the Council of State, went to the Home-department, with three Councillors as coadjutors, namely, Monsignor della Porta, groom of the chambers and of the wardrobe, about the Pope's person, Don Vincenzo Colonna, and the Prince Cosimo Conti. Pasolini was esteemed and loved for his rare nobleness of disposition, his remarkable learning, and his moderate though liberal opinions; Sturbinetti was first in the first rank of Roman advocates, and was in repute both for ability and for rectitude; the lively Gaetani was in favour with the people; the respected and most kindly Monsignor Pentini was not otherwise; Colonna had the character of a good administrator; Conti of a liberal-minded man.

Then came the appointment of the Commission, which was to devise the means of fitting together and of extending the measures of reform, adapting them at the same time to the nature of the Papal Government, and to the times. It was composed of ecclesiastics exclusively; namely, of the Cardinals Orsini, Castracani, Orioli, Altieri, Antonelli, Bofondi,

and Vizzardelli; and of the Prelates Corboli Bussi, Bernabò, and Mertel. The Government Gazette gave a particular notice of it.

I do not prolong my story to relate the exaltation of spirits and of mind produced throughout the States by the news from Sicily and Naples, by the occurrences at Rome, and by the acts of the Pontiff. Every where men were on tiptoe, expecting more extensive changes in the form of government. The desire for them grew progressively, as it became known that Tuscany and Piedmont had already obtained from their Sovereigns the promise of a constitution. Every where, and at Rome most of all, they celebrated with boisterous rejoicings the happy occurrences in friendly States; every where, and at Rome more than elsewhere, they became impatient of delay. The Government Gazette printed and reprinted the assurance, that the Commission was getting forward with its inquiries and labours on reform; and already it was intimated, that a constitution would be given resembling that of the other States. There was, however, a suspicion of the resistance of the Sacred College; there were also persons, and persons, too, of liberal ideas, that advised one or more of the liberal ministers to proceed in this matter by measured and cautious steps, inasmuch as they were of opinion, that a constitution uniform with those of the lay States would not be suitable to the ecclesiastical principality. Many projects were broached and published: Father Ventura himself published one of his own, in which he proposed two Chambers, one elected

by constituencies, the other appointed by the Sacred College of the Cardinals. The Pope asked Rossi, the French Ambassador, for his advice; who answered, that in his diplomatic capacity he approved and applauded all that the Sovereign did of his own free will; but as an individual he proposed certain modifications, in order that the organic law of the infant constitution might not carry in it the seeds of grave conflicts, between the new powers admitted to share the exercise of the temporal sovereignty on the one hand, and the immutable and indivisible power of the Sovereign Pontiff on the other. Some few municipalities began to send addresses to the Pope, praying for the constitution; but these were not acceptable, because the Pope and the Court were fond of being altogether unhampered, and desired the undivided credit of spontaneous gifts.

CHAP. XI.

EFFECTS OF THE PROLONGED AGITATION.—COMMISSION OF RELIEF.—POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS.—ADMONITIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT.—REVIEW OF THE CIVIC GUARD ON THE 20TH OF FEBRUARY.—THE LA HANTE LOAN.—REDEMPTION OF THE FEU-DUTIES.—MILITARY PREPARATIONS.—NEWS OF THE PARIS REVOLUTION.—RESULTS.—MINISTRY OF MARCH 10.—NOMINATION OF GALLETTI.—THE NEW MINISTRY WITHOUT PART IN PREPARING THE FUNDAMENTAL STATUTE.—CONSISTORIES OF CARDINALS.—PROMULGATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL STATUTE.—TEXT OF THE FUNDAMENTAL STATUTE.

THIS long course of agitation had produced the evils which are always sure to ensue from such a cause; such as waste of time, and idling, with consequent distress in the lower class, extravagant longings, eager and criminal passions. The Government designed to mitigate these mischiefs in the city of Rome by naming on the 18th of February a Commission, whose duty it should be to collect contributions for the poor; a plan well intended, but ineffectual — an inducement, not a cure, to laziness. Meanwhile assassinations, from political motives, infested more than ever the provinces of Romagna; and the Cardinal Secretary of State admonished the respective Presidents to be diligent in the work of inquiry and repression; a gross sign of both weakness in the Government, and want of discipline in the people, when it becomes necessary thus to stigmatise in words the crimes that the tribunals fail to punish.

In order to quicken the zeal of the Civic Guard of

Rome for public order, it was thought advisable that the Pontiff should review that corps; and, on the 20th of February, Pius IX. proceeded to the great court of the *Belvedere*, close to the palace of the Vatican, where it was mustered: he spoke some conciliatory sentences, and gave the benediction.

It had now become necessary to make provision, by means of a new loan, to meet the exhausted state of the finances, the deficits annually recurring in the receipts as compared with the expenditure (an evil of which, and of its causes, the Treasurer, Monsignor Morichini, had given an account in a clear and well-digested paper), and the crying want of cash. Monsignor Morichini accordingly entered into an engagement with the banking firm of La Hante, at Paris, which bound itself to supply a million of crowns, on terms very advantageous to the Roman State. And this appeared to be a fortunate transaction. That plan, also, was greatly and justly commended, by which power was given to private persons to enfranchise their properties from the burden of feu-duties and rent-charges, that were in many cases highly productive to the religious congregations, to the Church, and to charitable institutions; and it was enacted that the Government should receive the sum charged for the enfranchisement, and should make to the proprietors of the feu-duties and rent-charges a payment equal to its annual proceeds. To give satisfaction to the public feeling, more and more engrossed as it was by an apprehension that war was imminent, it was arranged to arm the reserve of the Civic Guard, and

to send troops to form a camp in the Upper Provinces of the Papal State. In the mean time the Commission, which had been appointed for the purpose, made progress in framing the plan of a constitution, and men's minds found repose in the belief that it would speedily be promulgated.

While matters were proceeding in this course, there arrived unexpectedly in Rome the news of the grave events at Paris. How small a spark gave occasion to a mighty conflagration! The people of Paris are impelled by harangues from the tribune, and by curiosity, to gather, and to attend a banquet, at which toasts are appointed to be drunk in favour of Electoral Reform; a measure deemed unreasonable by the Government: they gather accordingly, in despite of that Government, and of its resolution to prevent the banquet. The deputies present at the feast protest against a breach of the Constitution, and Odillon Barrot takes the lead in putting his name to an act of accusation of the ministers, which he brings before the Parliament. The populace gets astir, and cries "Reform for ever!" Disturbances arise, and the National Guard sides with the people. They resort to arms, and the struggle commences. The King deliberates upon a change of Ministry; Molè will not undertake, or has not the power, to form one. Next comes the turn of Thiers; he wishes to have Barrot for his colleague; and behold the desire of many long years accomplished: Barrot is minister, Electoral Reform is promised; the troops withdraw, and all is joy. Then, whether it be chance, or some deep-laid perfidy of

conspirators, there is more firing: the people conceive they are put to defiance, and betrayed; they become wild, and attack, as Parisians well know how. The change of ministry avails not. The King will not take the bold advice to quench in blood the flame of revolution: he abdicates, and places the crown on the head of the child, his grandson. Nor is even that enough. The Duke of Nemours, regent by law, if not actually hated, is unpopular: further concessions must be made: it is proposed that the Duchess of Orleans shall be Regent, but too late; the palace is already hemmed in by armed men. The King mounts his horse, and reviews the troops that are there to defend it; but the National Guard utters seditious cries, and serious danger is at hand. He must fly, as Charles X. did; nay, worse than Charles X., so says the aged King himself. The Duchess of Orleans, with the Count of Paris and her other young boy, and the Duke of Nemours, go on foot to the Chamber of Deputies—a spectacle to move compassion! There they witness the triumph of the Revolution, listen to the decision that dashes to pieces the crown and the throne, hear a Provisional Government announced, withdraw for safety, and then learn that the Republic has been proclaimed.

The Republic is proclaimed at Paris; and at this news Rome stands aghast. To her amazement succeeds agitation; then the excited crowd applaud the Republic of Paris — will have the royal arms pulled down from the palace of the French Ambassador, celebrate the popular triumph in the streets,

and in the Churches pray for the repose of such as had died for the Republic.

In those days, the Court of Rome congratulated itself on its having adopted plans for liberal reforms, and for a Constitution. What a tempest would have raged at that moment over Rome, and over Italy, if the Gregorian Government had still subsisted. Such was the reflection of the citizens, such also of the Court. Yes, it is the peril of revolution which makes men sensible of the benefits of reform: it is the present fear of extreme parties which brings a moderate party into favour. On the 10th of March, a new ministry was constituted as follows:

Cardinal Antonelli - -	President of the Council of Ministers.
Gaetano Recchi - - -	Minister of the Interior.
Francesco Sturbinetti, Advocate,	Minister of Grace and Justice.
Monsignor Morichini -	Minister of Finance.
Marco Minghetti - - -	Minister of Public Works.
Count Giuseppe Pasolini,	Minister of Commerce.
Prince Aldobrandini -	Minister of War.
Cardinal Mezzofanti -	Minister of Instruction.
Giuseppe Galletti, of Bologna, Doctor of Laws	Minister of Police.

There were next nominated as ministers-substitute, or, as they are called, Under-Secretaries of State, for Public Works, the distinguished Professor Cavalieri; for the Interior, myself. Thus, when a great portion of Italy had already obtained Constitutions; when the Lombards, their hands sprinkled with the blood of

their slaughtered fellow-citizens, were champing wrathfully the Austrian bit; and when France had become republican, were laymen invited to constitute a majority in the Cabinet of the Pope, that they might defend his temporal sovereignty, and bring it into credit.

Recchi, Minghetti, Pasolini were among the most considerable persons of the *Consulta*, and of the moderate party in the State. Sturbinetti approximated closely to their opinions. In Aldobrandini was the generous and noble nature of a gentleman, predisposed to everything that is noble and generous. The three ecclesiastics of the ministry were, in those days, unobtrusive and compliant persons. The nomination of Galletti to the ministry of Police caused great surprise: he was not distinguished for any work of mental power, but only for the troubles he had undergone in the revolutionary cause. Certainly it was not for the moderation of his opinions, as, even in Bologna, he was reputed to belong to the extreme party, and with others to have acted against the Moderates. Neither had he experience in public affairs. For what reason then was he elevated to a seat in the Cabinet, and selected to govern the Police? Strange times had begun: the moderate party were not confident of their ability to controul the revolution single-handed: they were called to govern when the task was difficult, since power had already passed to those out of doors. Besides, the Italians of moderate opinions have always cherished the quaint notion, that they could conciliate conflicting parties; and at that

period they cherished it the more, because the extreme party had gained in weight from the occurrences in France. The old police was detested; and, in order that it might become useful, it seemed wise to give it repute by means of a chief who was himself in repute with the Liberals. Galletti was a popular person, and might be able to lend the Government that aid, in the shape of popularity, which was then esteemed the test of all. He had also the character of being honest; whence it came, that reliance was placed on his devotion and gratitude to the person of the Prince, and on his fidelity to a Constitutional Sovereignty. For these reasons he obtained the department of Police.

The new ministers, before accepting their responsible charge, requested to be informed about the Constitution, which they had been invited to carry into operation. But they had for reply, that with this the Commission of Ecclesiastics only had to do: that it was the business of the Sacred College: that it was fitting and expedient that laymen should have no voice in the discussion or adoption of it: that the Fundamental Statute, which was to regulate the temporal dominion of the Church, ought to be enacted by spiritual persons alone: that in this way no doubt ever would arise as to the perfect spontaneity, either of the design, or of the execution of it.

On the 10th of March, a Consistory of Cardinals had already met to debate upon the Statute: on the 12th, they held another to decide. On the 14th,

it was published in the form that I now consign to history.

PIUS PAPA IX.

"In the institutions which We have heretofore conferred upon our subjects, it was our intention to revive certain ancient provisions, which, after having long reflected like a mirror the wisdom of our august Predecessors, came at length in the course of time to demand adaptation to the change of circumstances, in order that they might adequately represent that majestic structure to which from the outset they had belonged.

"Proceeding in this course, We had arrived at the establishment of a consultative representation of all the Provinces, such as might aid our Government in the task of legislation, and in the administration of public affairs: and We were in expectation that the excellence of the results would have commended the experiment, which We were the first to make in Italy. Since, however, our neighbour Sovereigns have judged their subjects to be ripe for receiving the benefit of a representation not merely consultative but deliberative, We will not form a lower estimate of our people, or place less reliance on their gratitude, not indeed towards our own humble Person, for which We desire nothing, but towards the Church and this Apostolic See, of which God has entrusted to Us the inviolable and sovereign prerogatives, and the presence of which has been, and will ever be, to them the source of peculiar blessings.

"In ancient times, our Communes had the privilege of governing themselves respectively under laws made by themselves, subject to the assent of the Sovereign. The conditions of modern civilisation undoubtedly do not admit of the renewal at the present day, in the same form, of a system, under which differences of laws and customs often broke the due relation of one Commune with another. But We intend

to entrust this power to two Councils of upright and prudent citizens: in one of them, sitting by our nomination; in the other, by deputation from every part of the State, under a form of election established for the purpose. These Councils will both represent the particular interests of each locality in our dominions, and will wisely blend them with that other chief interest of each Commune and each Province; to wit, the general interest of the State.

"As, further, in our holy State the interest of its temporal and domestic prosperity cannot be detached from the other and graver interest of the political independence of the Head of the Church, through which, moreover, the independence of this part of Italy came about, We, accordingly, not only reserve to ourselves and our successors the supreme sanction and the promulgation of all the laws that shall be adopted by the Councils aforesaid, and the full exercise of the sovereign authority in all the points, which are not provided for by the present Act; but We intend, furthermore, to maintain intact our authority in matters that by their nature are related to the Catholic religion and its rule of morals. And this is due from Us, as a guarantee to the whole of Christendom, that in the States of the Church, reorganised in this new form, nothing shall be derogated from the liberties and rights of the Church herself, and of the Holy See, nor any precedent be established for violating the sacredness of the Religion which it is our duty and mission to preach to the whole world, as the only scheme of covenant between God and man, the only pledge of that heavenly benediction by which States subsist and nations flourish.

"After having invoked, then, the Divine aid, and after having taken the unanimous opinion of our Venerable Brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, assembled in Consistory specially for the purpose, We have decreed and decree as follows: —

Fundamental Statute for the Civil Government of the States of Holy Church.

General Provisions.

"Art. I. The Sacred College of the Cardinals, who choose the Supreme Pontiff, constitutes a Senate inseparable from his Person.

"II. Two deliberative Councils for the formation of laws are instituted: to wit, the High Council and the Council of Deputies.

"III. Although the Sovereign is the fountain of justice, and it is administered in his name, the judicial Bench is, notwithstanding, independent in the application of the laws to particular cases, saving always, in the Sovereign aforesaid, the prerogative of mercy. The Judges of the Collegiate Courts become irremovable, when they shall have held office in them for three years from the promulgation of the present Statute. They may, however, be transferred from one court to another of equal or superior rank.

"IV. There shall be no appointment of Tribunals or Commissions Extraordinary. Every person, as well in civil as in criminal cases, shall go before the tribunal expressly appointed by the law; in the sight of which all persons are equal.

"V. The Civic Guard holds the rank of one of the Institutions of the State, and will continue organised on the basis of the law of July 5. 1847, and of the Regulations of the 30th of the same month.

"VI. No restraint may be placed upon personal freedom, except in the cases and forms prescribed by the laws. And accordingly no one may be arrested, except by virtue of a warrant proceeding from the proper authority. Cases of *flagrante delicto* are excepted; in these, the person arrested must be given in charge to the proper authority within twenty-four hours.

"Measures of police, and prevention, will moreover be regulated by a law for the purpose.

"VII. The public debt is guaranteed, as are also the other obligations undertaken by the State.

"VIII. All property, whether of individuals, or of bodies corporate, or of other pious or public Institutions, contributes indiscriminately and equally, whoever be the proprietor, to bear the burdens of the State.

"When the Supreme Pontiff assents to any taxing Bill, He will attach to it a special waiver, by his own authority, of the ecclesiastical exemption.

"IX. In like manner, the right of property in all persons is inviolable.

"The only exception is the case of expropriation on grounds of acknowledged public utility, and after the payment of an equivalent according to law.

"X. The right of literary property is acknowledged.

"XI. The existing governmental, or political, censorship of the press before publication is abolished; and for this will be substituted such measures, operating subsequently to it, as shall be specified in a law for the purpose.

"As to the ecclesiastical censorship, regulated by the canonical dispositions, no change will be made, until the Sovereign Pontiff of his own Apostolical authority, shall make other provision in that behalf.

"The permission of the ecclesiastical censorship in no case removes or diminishes the political and civil responsibility of the parties, who may according to law be answerable for the productions of the press.

"XII. The public spectacles are regulated by preventive provisions specified in the laws. Theatrical compositions, accordingly, are subjected to the censorship before representation.

"XIII. The Communal and Provincial Administrations are in the hands of their inhabitants respectively. They will be regulated by laws for the purpose, so framed as to secure to the Communes and Provinces the largest discretion compatible with the preservation of their properties, and the interest of the tax payers.

Of the High Council and the Council of Deputies.

"XIV. The Supreme Pontiff convokes, adjourns, and prorogues both the Councils. He dissolves the Council of Deputies, and convokes it afresh within a period of three months, by means of new elections. The ordinary length of the annual Session will not exceed three months.

"XV. Neither Council can meet, while the other is prorogued or dissolved, except in the case provided for by Art. XLVI.

"XVI. In each year, the two Councils will be summoned, and prorogued simultaneously. A Cardinal, specially appointed by the Pontiff, will open the Session; and for that occasion only the two Chambers will meet together. At other times they will invariably meet apart. The presence of half the number of members in each respectively constitutes a *Quorum;* a majority of voices decides.

"XVII. The Sittings of both Councils are in public. Either Council, however, may resolve itself into a Select Committee on the demand of ten members.

"Each Council is charged with the publication of its own proceedings.

"XVIII. Each Council, when constituted, will frame its own rules for the conduct of public business.

"XIX. The members of the High Council are nominated for life by the Supreme Pontiff. Their number is unlimited. They must be of the age of thirty years, and must be in full exercise of their civil and political rights.

"XX. They must be chosen from the following classes:—

"1. Prelates, and other dignitaries of the Church.

"2. Ministers of State, the President of the Council of Deputies, the Senator of Rome, the Senator of Bologna.

"3. Persons holding, or having held, a post of distinction in the political, the administrative, or the military service.

"4. The Presidents of courts of appeal, Members of the

Council of State, advocates of the Consistory; being in each case of six years' standing.

"5. Proprietors with an income of four thousand crowns a year from taxable property, and of which they have been in possession for six years.

"6. And finally persons who have deserved well of the State for distinguished services, or for having done it honour by remarkable productions in Science or the Arts.

"XXI. At the commencement of each Session, the Supreme Pontiff names as well the President as the two Vice-presidents from among the members of the High Council, unless he should be pleased to name a Cardinal as President.

"XXII. The other Council is composed of the Deputies chosen by the electors in the ratio, as near as may be, of one deputy for every thirty thousand souls of the population.

"XXIII. The following are electors:—

"1. The Mayors, Common Councilmen, and Aldermen of cities and of Communes; the syndics of Communes annexed.

"2. Those who are enrolled in the census as possessed of a capital of three hundred crowns.

"3. Those who in any manner pay to the Government twelve crowns a year in direct taxes.

"4. Members of colleges and of the faculties, and ordinary professors in the universities of the State.

"5. Members of the councils of management* for the advocates and the proctors practising in the collegiate courts.

"6. Honorary graduates in the universities of the State.

"7. Members of the Chambers of Commerce.

"8. Heads of manufactories, or industrial establishments.

"9. Heads or representatives of societies, corporations,

* *Consigli di disciplina*, charged with the internal regulation of these colleges respectively.—TR.

pious or public institutions, being inscribed in the census according to No. 2., or paying taxes as in No. 3.

"XXIV. The following are qualified to sit:—

"1. Those who are enrolled in the census as possessed of three thousand crowns.

"2. Those who in any manner pay to the Government an hundred crowns of regular taxes *per annum*.

"3. Members of the colleges and faculties, and ordinary professors of the universities of Rome and Bologna; members of the colleges of management for the advocates, and the proctors of the courts of Appeal.

"4. Those enumerated in Nos. 1. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 of the last Article, provided they are registered for one-half of the capital named in No. 1., or else pay one-half of the tax named in No. 2. of this Article.

"XXV. Persons are qualified to vote at twenty-five years old; to be elected, at thirty: for the one or the other, they must be in the full exercise of their civil and political rights, and must accordingly profess the Catholic Religion, which is an indispensable condition for the enjoyment of political rights in the State.

"XXVI. No person, though having more than one domicile, or more than one kind of electoral qualification, can give more than one vote. The same person, however, may be elected in two or more districts, in which case he will choose among them.

"XXVII. The electoral colleges, meeting under a summons issued by the Supreme Pontiff, proceed to choose deputies in the manner and form which shall be prescribed by the electoral law.

"XXVIII. At the beginning of each Session, the Council of Deputies chooses from among its own members its President and Vice-presidents.

"XXIX. The members of both Councils discharge their duties without pay.

"XXX. The members of both Councils are irresponsible

in regard to opinions and votes given by them in the discharge of their duties.

"They cannot be arrested for debt during the continuance of the Session, nor within one month before or after it.

"Neither can they be arrested on a criminal charge during the Session, except with the previous assent of the Council to which they belong; save in the case of *delicto flagrante*, or *quasi-flagrante*.

"XXXI. Besides the case of a dissolution of the Council of Deputies, the office of deputy determines,

"1. By natural or civil death, and by the suspension of civil rights.

"2. By resignation.

"3. By absence for four years.

"4. By nomination to the High Council.

"5. By acceptance of a paid office under Government, or by promotion in one already held.

"Whenever a case of vacancy is made known, the electoral college, by which the deputy had been chosen, shall be immediately convoked. The contingencies named in Numbers 3. and 5. shall be no impediment to a re-election.

"XXXII. If, while his term continues, a deputy loses his qualification, it not being one of those which are in their own nature temporary, the Council, when the fact is established, declares his place vacant; and measures are to be taken for a new election as in the foregoing article.

"In the same case, the High Council reports concerning its own members to the Supreme Pontiff, with whom it lies to take such order as He shall think fit.

Functions of the Two Councils.

"XXXIII. All the laws, in matters civil, administrative, and political, are proposed, discussed, and voted in the two Councils; including all impositions of taxes, and such interpretative and declaratory instruments as have the nature of laws.

"XXXIV. Laws concerning the matters named in the last Article have no force, except after being freely discussed and adopted in both the Councils, and confirmed by the sanction of the Supreme Pontiff.

"Accordingly no taxes can be levied except by authority of law.

"XXXV. Laws are proposed by the Ministers of State. Any member, however, of either Council may introduce one, if it be demanded by ten members. But the propositions of the ministers shall always be first debated and put to the vote.

"XXXVI. The Councils are not competent even to propose a law,

"1. That touches ecclesiastical or mixed matter;

"2. That is contrary to the canons or discipline of the Church;

"3. That tends to vary or qualify the present Statute.

"XXXVII. In mixed matters the Councils may be invited to act by way of advice.

"XXXVIII. All discussion, in the two Councils, of t diplomatico-religious relations of the Holy See in Forei affairs, is forbidden.

"XXXIX. Treaties of commerce, and those clauses or of other treaties that affect the finances of the State, a presented to the Councils before ratification, and are discuss and voted there as in Art. XXXIII.

"XL. Projects of law may be sent from the ministry, the one or the other Council indifferently.

"XLI. But projects of law respecting the following su jects shall always be presented first for the consideration a decision of the Council of Deputies.

"1. The estimates and accounts of each year.

"2. Bills giving authority to create, pay off, or canc public debt.

"3. Bills relating to taxes, and to the leases, or an other concession or alienation whatsoever, of t income or property of the State.

"XLII. Direct taxes are granted for one year; indirect taxes may be granted for more.

"XLIII. Every project of law, after being examined in the Sections, will be discussed and voted in the Council to which it has been sent. When approved, it is sent to the other Council, which examines, discusses, and adopts it in the same order.

"XLIV. If a project of law shall be rejected by either one of the two Councils, or if, after both have adopted it, the Sovereign Pontiff withholds his assent, in such case it cannot be again proposed during the current Session.

"XLV. The verification of powers, and the consideration of questions respecting the validity of elections of the several members of the Council of Deputies, rests with that Council.

"XLVI. Only the Council of Deputies has the right to impeach ministers. If these are laymen, it will be the office of the High Council to try them; and for this purpose only it will have authority to meet as a Court, without any prejudice from the provisions of Art. XV., excepting always the period treated of in Art. LVI. If they be ecclesiastics, the accusation will be brought before the Sacred College, which will proceed according to the canon law.

"XLVII. Every citizen of full age has the right to petition the Council of Deputies respecting any matter comprised in Art. XXXIII., or any proceeding of the agents of the Executive Power in the subject-matters there enumerated. The petition must be in writing, and must be deposited at the proper office, either in person, or through the medium of some lawful representative. The Council, on the report of its Sections, will deliberate whether to take it into consideration, and in what manner.

"Petitioners may be brought before the competent tribunals, at the suit of persons considering themselves aggrieved by the statements made in the petitions.

"XLVIII. The Councils do not receive deputations; they do not hear before them any persons besides their own members, except the servants of Government and the mi-

nisters; they correspond in writing exclusively with each other and with the administration; they send deputations to the Supreme Pontiff in the cases and forms prescribed by the Regulations.

"XLIX. The sums requisite for the maintenance of the Supreme Pontiff, of the Sacred College of Cardinals, for the ecclesiastical Congregations, for aid or income to the College *de propagandâ fide*, for the department of Foreign Affairs, for the diplomatic servants of the Holy See in foreign parts, for the support of the Palace Guard of the Pontiff, for religious functions, for the ordinary maintenance and custody of the Apostolical palaces and of their appurtenances, as well as of the museums and library annexed to them, and for the salaries, retiring allowances, and pensions of the persons attached to the Pontifical Court, are fixed at six hundred thousand crowns annually, on the basis of the present expenditure, with a reserve fund for contingent expenses. The said sum shall be borne upon the estimate of each year. This allocation of money stands permanently approved and sanctioned as absolute; and it will be paid to the Maggiordomo of the Supreme Pontiff, or to some other person appointed by him. On the annual account, or *consuntivo*, will be borne simply the voucher of such payment.

"L. There remain over and above, at the absolute disposal of the Supreme Pontiff, the feu-duties charged on land, tributes, and rates, amounting annually to a sum of about thirteen thousand crowns, besides the droits which are comprised in the list employed at the Chamber of Tributes on the vigils and festivals of St. Peter and St. Paul.

"LI. The extraordinary charges of extensive repairs in the Apostolical palaces, their appurtenances, and the Museums and other buildings attached to them, which are not included in the sums aforesaid, shall, when they are required, be borne upon the estimates of the year, and discussed with them, and also upon the accounts.

Of the Sacred Consistory.

"LII. When both the Councils shall have affirmed any project of law, it will be presented to the Supreme Pontiff, and submitted to the Secret Consistory. The Pontiff, after hearing the judgments of the Cardinals, gives or withholds his assent.

Of the Ministers.

"LIII. The Government makes provision by orders and regulations for the execution of the laws.

"LIV. The laws and all official acts relating to the matters treated of in Art. XXXIII. are subscribed by the respective ministers, who are responsible for them. A law for the purpose will determine the cases of such responsibility, the penalties, and the forms of accusation and of trial.

"LV. The ministers have the right of being present, and of sitting together, in both the Councils; but with a vote only in case of being members. They may also be invited to attend for the purpose of giving necessary explanations.

Of Periods of Vacancy of the See.

"LVI. The sittings of both the Councils are suspended, immediately and absolutely, by the death of the Supreme Pontiff. They can in no case meet during the vacancy of the See; nor during that interval can any election of Deputies be commenced or proceeded with. Both Councils must be convoked one month after the election of a new Supreme Pontiff. If, however, the Council of Deputies has chanced to be dissolved, and the new elections are not completed, the electoral colleges must be convoked after a month, as before, and the Councils after another month.

"LVII. The Councils cannot in any case, even as antecedent to suspending their sittings, receive or present any petitions directed to the Sacred College, or relating to the interval of the vacancy of the See.

"LVIII. The Sacred College, according to the rules established in the Apostolic Constitutions, confirms the ministers, or substitutes others for them. Until they do so,

the actual ministers continue in office. The department of Foreign Affairs, moreover, passes immediately to the Secretary of the Sacred College, saving always the right of the said College to put it in charge of any other person.

"LIX. The expenses of the funeral of the Supreme Pontiff, of the Conclave, of the creation of the new Pontiff, and of his taking possession, are borne by the State. The ministers, in subordination to the Cardinal Chamberlain, disburse the sum required, although not provided for in the estimates of the year, subject to the obligation to render an account of it, by showing that they have applied it to the heads above-mentioned.

"LX. If, at the time of the Supreme Pontiff's decease, the supplies necessary for the expenditure of the year have not yet been voted by the two Councils, the ministers are authorised unconditionally to levy the taxes, and make provision for the public charges on the basis of the last preceding estimates voted by the Councils and decreed by the Pontiff.

"If, however, at the time of his decease, the estimate has already been voted by the two Councils, in this case the Sacred College shall exercise the prerogative of giving or withholding assent to their determination.

"LXI. The prerogatives of temporal sovereignty, exercised by the defunct Pontiff, reside during the vacancy of the See in the Sacred College, which shall administer them in the manner prescribed by the Apostolical Constitutions and by the present Statute.

Of the Council of State.

"LXII. There shall be a Council of State, composed of ten Councillors, and of a body of *Uditori* not exceeding twenty-four in number, all nominated by the Sovereign.

"LXIII. The Council of State, under the direction of the Government, is charged with framing bills and regulations for the public departments, and gives its opinion upon difficult political questions. Contentious jurisdiction may likewise be conferred upon it by a law for the purpose.

Provisional Dispositions.

"LXIV. There shall be promulgated, at the earliest possible period,

"1. The electoral law, which will form an integral part of the present Statute.

"2. The law for correcting offences of the press, mentioned in the first part of Art. XI.

"LXV. The estimate for 1849 will be submitted to the Councils at their first sitting. Also in this or in the next Session, bills on the following subjects will be presented, in order to be taken into consideration: — on municipal and provincial institutions; on the code of police; on the reform of civil and criminal law; and of the forms of proceeding; on the responsibility of ministers, and on public functionaries.

"LXVI. The Councils will meet for the present year at the latest on the first Monday in June.

"LXVII. Twenty days before the opening of the Councils the existing *Consulta di Stato* will determine.

"In the meantime it will proceed with the examination of the estimates, and with other administrative matters, that have been, or may be, referred to it.

"LXVIII. The present Statute will come into force at the opening of the two Councils.

"But as far as regards the election of deputies, it will take effect from the publication of the electoral law.

"LXIX. All legislative enactments not contrary to the present Statute remain in force.

"And, in like manner, We will and decree that no anterior law, or custom, or claim now at issue, or claim of third parties, or fault of suggestion or suppression, shall derogate from the dispositions of the present Statute, which we purpose to embody as soon as possible in a Consistorial Bull, according to the ancient form, for perpetual memory.

"Given in Rome, at S. Maria Maggiore, on the 14th of March, MDCCCXLVIII., in the second year of our Pontificate.

"PIUS PP. IX."

And now events much more grave, on a far larger scale, and of a far more surprising nature, than those which I have hitherto been relating, throng upon my memory. I am to tell of lofty affections, and of base passions; of pure enthusiasm and artificial intoxication; of noble daring and wild frenzy; of faults of the Sovereign, faults of the people, perfidies of courtiers and perfidies of mobs, of error rife in all, and discord, the mother and the nurse of every kind of vice, every kind of error; of our civilisation put in peril even more by intestine fury, than by the displeasure of its enemies abroad; of Religion wounded by impiety, also by worldly lusts. All these images rise up before me; and I see my native country shedding blood from wounds never to be cured, Italy become again the scene of revel for the insulting stranger, Europe a field of civil war, and the nations, all astounded, many in despair, standing in doubt of the destinies of mankind; events and recollections these, which will make the history of this age a terrible example, to those that are to come, of the Almightiness of the King of kings and the Master of nations. But I turn away from this so lofty contemplation, and take breath to resume the unpretending labour I have begun, as my conscience guides me, and as the poverty of my mind and language will allow.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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